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KING EDWARD VII. AND QUEEN ALEXANDRA.

Photo: La/ayette, Dublin.

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ING EDWARD VII

BY

H. R. WHATES

Author of "The Third Salisbury Administration," "Canada, the New Nation,"
etc. etc.

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VOL. I.

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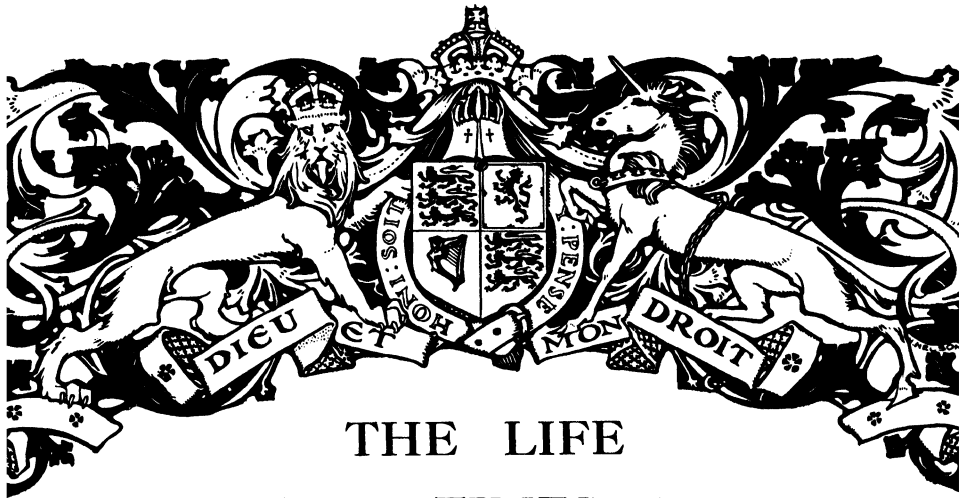
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THE LIFE AND TIMES OF KING EDWARD THE SEVENTH

CHAPTER I

BIRTH AND INFANCY

A Crown's Demise—Imperial Development—A Political Crisis—Looking Backward—An Eventful Morning at Buckingham Palace—Birth of Edward VII.—Rejoicings in London—*Punch* is Topical—A Royal Mother—Early Honours—The Christening at Windsor—The Popularity of Protestantism—Some Early Pictures Described—"Princey" at Five—The Home Circle in 1848—The Duke of Cornwall Visits the Duchy—The Early Environment of the Future King—The Power of Heredity

THE High and Mighty Prince Lord Edward the Seventh, by the Grace of God King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Dominions Oversea, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India, passed from life in the sixty-ninth year of his age and the tenth of his reign. He spent his last breath in Buckingham Palace shortly before midnight on the 6th of May, 1910, in an apartment quite close to that

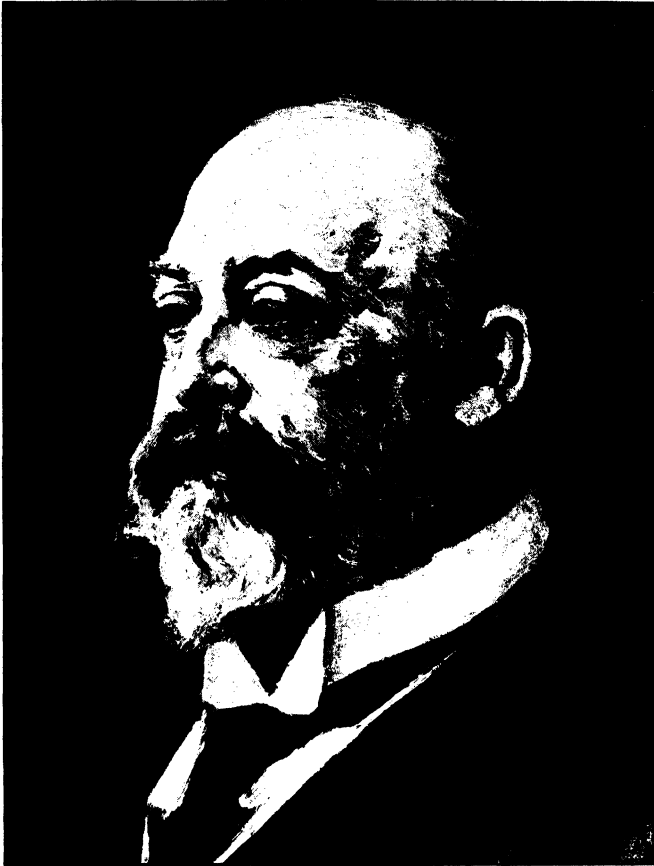
in which he first saw the light at eleven in the morning of the 9th of November, 1841. His reign was short but momentous. It opened a new era in international relations, in Imperial development, in Constitutional growth, in domestic policies. He was a man of remarkable personal qualities, beloved in life, deeply and universally mourned in death. Opportunity to display the full power of his gifts was denied him ; for he was struck

down, almost without warning, at the height of a political crisis in which the personal intervention of the Crown had become imminent. As a ruler compelled to work within the mysterious but yet elastic restrictions of a limited monarchy, the circumstances, as will hereafter be shown, were of a most delicate character, and called for the highest sagacity and prudence. But King Edward was deprived by Fate of the singular honour of directing and shaping a settlement. Death overtook him with startling suddenness, while the nation had reason to expect that he would live to a patriarchal age. He passed hence before he could give crowning proof of his political wisdom as the unifying arbiter and final authority in our system of government. It is one of the ironies of national life that he should thus have been robbed of a distinction which would have given an added and untarnishable lustre to his name, and would have placed him beyond dispute in the category of Great Kings.

He and none other was the man upon whom the People depended for finding a safe and honourable way out of the deadlock in the Constitution. Though the triumph has been reserved for his successor, the story of King Edward's life is nevertheless rich in interest, and worthy to be told on an ample scale. These volumes are an attempt to unfold it in such fashion as will depict the Man and the Sovereign, and will narrate the public affairs of the years of his life especially in so far as his personal influence is traceable in them.

He was born in the heart of the Empire, at Buckingham Palace, in the ancient City of Westminster, on Lord Mayor's

Day, in the fifth year of the reign of Queen Victoria, and the second year of that illustrious Sovereign's marriage to Prince Albert, the younger son of Ernest Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld. The first-born was a girl—the Princess Royal, who became the wife of the German Emperor Frederick. There was some disappointment, alike at the Court as among the public, that a son had not been born to the Queen; and eager was the expectation when it became known that Her Majesty was likely to provide a companion to the baby Princess. "Is it a boy?" inquired the Duke of Wellington, who had hurried to the Palace on the morning of the ninth. "It's a Prince, your Grace," was the answer of Mrs. Lily, the nurse; and when the town learned, as it did by the firing of the guns in Hyde Park and at the Tower of London, that an Heir to the Throne had arrived, the festivities at the inauguration of the Chief Magistrate of the City of London were diverted into a demonstration of loyal rejoicing which spread from town to town and assumed a national character. Very soon after the event became known, an endless procession of nobles and magnates besieged the Palace gates to make loyal inquiries as to the health of mother and child. The Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs after the swearing-in ceremony before the Lord Chief Justice at Westminster Hall, proceeded in their coaches to the Palace to offer their congratulations to the Queen and the Prince Consort; and to judge from contemporary records, the populace of London gave unrestrained expression to their delight. *Punch*, then in the frolicsome vigour of youth, caught the mood of the moment and expressed it in lines which, if they



EDWARD VII. IN PRIVATE LIFE.



QUEEN VICTORIA IN THE YEAR OF
EDWARD VII.'S BIRTH.

(From the Painting by Sir W. C. Ross, A.R.A.)

are not of imperishable merit as an essay in verse, have an appropriate lightness :—

“Huzza! we’ve a little Prince at last,
A roaring Royal boy;
And all day long the booming bells
Have rung their peals of joy.
And the little park guns have blazed away,
And made a tremendous noise,
Whilst the air has been filled since eleven
o’clock
With the shouts of little boys.”

A *Gazette Extraordinary* was forthwith issued. “This morning, at ten minutes before eleven o’clock,” it said, “the Queen was happily delivered of a Prince, His Royal Highness Prince Albert, Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent, several Lords of the Privy Council, and the Ladies of Her Majesty’s Bedchamber being present. This great and important news”—one seems to detect here the hand of the Prince Consort—“was immediately made known to the town by the firing of the Park and the Tower guns; and the Privy Council being assembled as soon as possible thereupon, it was ordered that a Form of Thanksgiving for

the Queen’s safe delivery of a Prince be prepared by His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, to be used in all Churches and Chapels throughout England and Wales and the town of Berwick-on-Tweed on Sunday the 14th of November, or the Sunday after the respective ministers shall receive the same”—an extension of time that reminds us that the late Sovereign was born before the days when England was interlaced with railways and telegraph wires. “Her Majesty and the infant Prince are, God be praised, both doing well,” ran the final sentence of the *Gazette*.

All Royal babies are described in courtly chronicles as perfect specimens of their kind; but it was no flattery that credited the new Duke of Cornwall—a title which the eldest son of the Sovereign acquires at birth—with being a lusty and beautiful child. Lord Hill, a Privy Councillor of reddish hair and ruddy hue, was met by the Duke of Wellington when the latter was leaving the Palace, Lord Hill being too late to be among the Ministers in attendance. “All over! Fine boy—very fine boy! Almost as red as you, Hill!” said the Duke, whose pleasantries were rare but bluntly apt. By the time the Court painters saw the child the hue was a delicate pink and white, and he had grown to an amazing plumpness. Undoubtedly he was a fine child. The earliest representation, says Mrs. Sarah A. Tooley in “The Royal Family by Pen and Camera,” was “a baby face drawn on a tiny silk pincushion, which was sold by thousands in the streets of London within a few hours of the Prince’s birth. The portrait was purely imaginary, but the artist doubtless considered that all babies are alike—a heresy

detected only by mothers—and the overjoyed people gazed on the pictorial pin-cushion with faith unspoiled by criticism."

In all probability the first artist to see the little Prince was Sir Edwin (then Mr.) Landseer, who was frequently at Buckingham Palace in the early years of the Queen's married life, giving the Royal couple lessons in the art of etching, in which both attained very considerable proficiency, as those declare who have been permitted to see the finished examples which are among the personal treasures of the Royal Family. Landseer's picture of the Queen and her two children shows Her Majesty in a low bodice, with the Princess Royal—who was almost a year old when the Prince was born—clinging lovingly to her right shoulder, while the infant Heir, in long clothes richly embroidered, lies asleep on her left arm. The artist painted a bonny baby indeed, with fat cheeks of a cherubic roundness of outline and arms of unwonted plumpness; but though the eyes are closed in sleep, which the Royal mother shows by uplifted finger to the playful Princess she does not wish to have disturbed, there is individuality in the countenance. The artist has given the child from life, not an idealised recollection; and there can be no question that the Prince was a lusty and handsome child, perhaps not very light to nurse or deficient in vocal strength. The Queen had good reason to be proud of his vigour and beauty. "Our little boy," she wrote to her uncle Leopold, King of the Belgians, three weeks after the birth, "is a wonderfully strong and large child, and with very large dark blue eyes, a finely formed but somewhat large nose, and a pretty little

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mouth." The picture could not be bettered. "I *hope* and *pray*," the Queen added, "he may be like his dearest papa. He is to be called Albert, and Edward is to be his second name. . . . Pussy is *not* at all pleased with her brother."

This pen picture of the infant Prince appears in "The Letters of Queen Victoria," published by authority of His late Majesty in 1907; and interspersed in the correspondence there are various allusions to the Prince from which brief quotation may be allowable. When the Queen wrote that she hoped and prayed the boy might be like his father she was not thinking of personal appearances so much as of character and mental attainments; though she was, without doubt, regarding both sets of qualities. "I wonder very much," said one of her letters, "who my boy will be like. You will understand how fervent are my prayers, and I am sure everybody's must be, to see him resemble his father in every respect, both in body and mind." That is the keynote of her letters about him in infancy, and, indeed, until he grew to manhood. She



THE PRINCE CONSORT.

expressed the same thought in a confidential letter to Lord Melbourne, which has not been published in the selection authorised by King Edward, but the tenor of which can be divined from his reply. Though a swift recovery was made from the illness, she complained of lowness and depression of spirits. Lord Melbourne answered with delicate sympathy; he well knew how to feel for those who suffered under depression, for he himself had much of it. And he turned to cheer her by expressing his joy at hearing so good an account of the Heir Apparent. "Your Majesty cannot offer up for the young Prince a more safe and judicious prayer," he wrote, "than that he may resemble his father. The character, in Lord Melbourne's opinion"—his letters are in the third person, as are all Ministerial letters to the Sovereign, though Lord Melbourne had ceased to hold office—"depends much upon the race, and on both sides he has a good chance. Be not over solicitous about education. It may be able to do much, but it does not do so much as is expected from it. It may mould and direct the character, but it rarely alters it." Then followed in the letter as given in "The Letters of Queen Victoria," a sage little dissertation upon the education of George IV. and others of that time. Thus early, apparently, was Her Majesty thinking of the education of her son.

Of more urgency was the question of his christening. The name of Albert Edward had been decided upon during the first week. Lord Melbourne, to whom the choice had been communicated, hinted a preference for Edward as the first name—a hint that may have borne fruit in the ultimate decision to be known as

King Edward the Seventh, though the chief reason was that the Christian name of Albert should be exclusively associated with the Prince Consort. "Edward is a good English appellation," wrote Lord Melbourne, as seen by "The Letters of Queen Victoria," "and has a certain degree of popularity attached to it from ancient recollections. Albert is also an old Anglo-Saxon name—the same, Lord Melbourne believes, as Ethelred—but it has not been so common nor so much in use since the Conquest. However, Your Majesty's feelings, which Lord Melbourne perfectly understands, must determine this point."

The selection of sponsors was not without embarrassment to the Royal household, which early in December had removed from London to Windsor. "We arrived here, *sains et saufs*, with our awfully large nursery establishment yesterday morning," the Queen wrote on the 7th of December—the use of "awfully" as a humorous exaggeration had crept into feminine correspondence thus early in the century. On that day Letters Patent were signed creating the infant Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester. "Know ye," the people were enjoined, "that we have made our most dear son (Prince of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Duke of Saxony, Duke of Cornwall) Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester. And him, our most dear son, we do ennoble and invest with the said Principality and Earldom by girding him with a sword, by putting a coronet on his head and a gold ring on his finger, and also by delivering a gold rod into his hand, that he may preside there and may direct and defend those parts." The strong feeling of embarrassment as to the

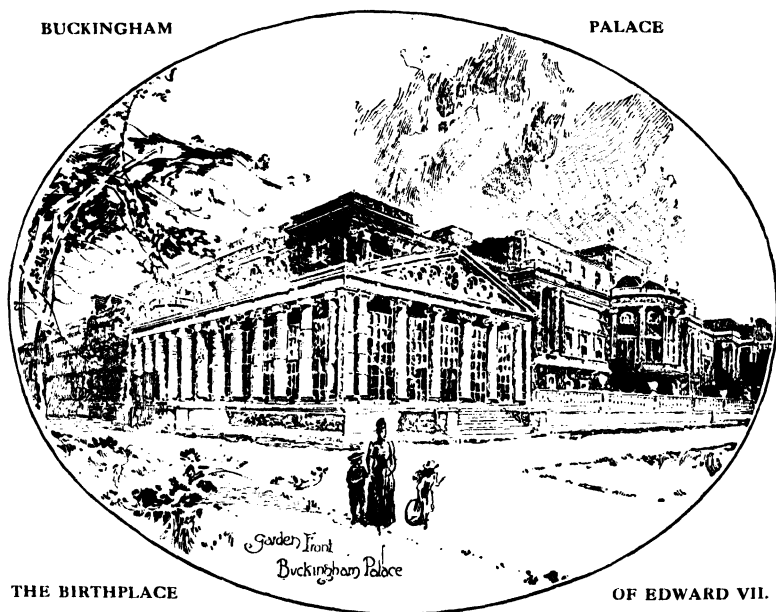


EDWARD VII. WHEN A BABY.

From Landseer's Painting "Hush," depicting the infant Prince Albert Edward in the arms of Queen Victoria, who is addressing "Vicky," the Princess Royal.

choice of sponsors for the baptism arose from the circumstance that England was at the time deeply stirred by the Tractarian Movement and the Romeward tendency of religious thought in the Established Church. The air was charged with apprehensions that the High Church party were deliberately leading the nation back to Roman Catholicism ; the storm

Roman doctrine and ritual, were engaged in fierce controversy. The influence of the Court, almost of necessity as well as from personal predilections of the Queen and the Prince Consort, was not with the Tractarians. Indeed, the Queen was Protestant in every fibre of her mental being. Even had it been otherwise it might have been impolitic



THE BIRTHPLACE

OF EDWARD VII.

raised by John Henry Newman's famous Tract No. 90—an argument that the Thirty-Nine Articles do not debar their subscribers from belief in tenets regarded as distinctively Roman Catholic—was at its height in the year of the Prince's birth. The new Anglican party, who detested the word "Protestant," and decried the Reformation as a thing of evil, and the great body of Protestants, who detested anything savouring of

in the controversial circumstances of the time, to invite a prince suspect of Romish views ; and the number of Protestant princes of the first rank in Europe was, and is, limited. The field of choice was narrow, and it was deemed advisable to have sponsors whose names and views would emphasise the Protestant character of the service. King Frederick William of Prussia was therefore invited to act as chief sponsor. "The notion of the

King of Prussia gives great satisfaction here" (we are again indebted to "The Letters of Queen Victoria" for this note written by Lord Melbourne in reply to a letter from the Queen). "and will do so with all but Puseyites and Newmanites and those who lean to the Roman Catholic faith. His strong Protestant feelings and his acting with us in the matter of the Syrian Bishop, have made the King of Prussia highly popular in this country, and particularly with the more religious part of the community." No selection could have been more acceptable to Protestant sentiments. The other sponsors were the Duchess of Saxe-Coburg, who could not, however, be present, and was represented by the Duchess of Kent, the Duke of Cambridge, the Duchess of Saxe-Gotha (represented by the Duchess of Cam-

bridge), the Princess Sophia (represented by the Princess Augusta of Cambridge), and Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg. Only the King of Prussia had no blood relationship with the infant Prince. His Majesty arrived in England a few days before the ceremony, which was arranged for the 25th of January in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and he made himself highly popular at the Court and,

with the public. "He is a most amiable man," wrote the Queen to her uncle, the King of the Belgians, "so kind and well-meaning, and seems so much beloved. He is so amusing, too. He is very anxious that Belgium should become *live* with Germany, and I think, dearest uncle, that it would be for the *real* good of Belgium if it could be so." Clearly His Majesty improved the occa-

sion by talking politics and flattering the Queen's liking for taking a hand in foreign affairs. It had been customary for Royal infants to be baptised in the Palace in which they were born, and this practice had been followed in the case of the Princess Royal; but the Queen and the Prince Consort wisely deemed that the christening of the Heir to the Throne should be carried out in a consecrated build-

ing and in circumstances which would invest it with its full religious significance and ceremonial dignity. There could be no nobler scene for the rite than the Chapel of St. George, and there a brilliant company of notabilities gathered on the morning of the 25th. The Prince Consort, himself a musician of distinction, had arranged for a full choral service, culminating in the "Hallelujah



DR. E. B. PUSEY.

By Sir G. Richmond, R.A.

*(By permission of the Dean and Governing Body,
Christ Church, Oxford.)*

Chorus." The rite was performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the scene was recorded by Sir George Hayter in one of his finest paintings of Royal gatherings. The Queen herself was much impressed. "It is impossible," she wrote in her journal, "to describe how beau-

"Nothing could have been done better, and *little Albert* (*what a pleasure that he has that dearest name!*) behaved so well."

The rite over, the next ordeal for the Prince was vaccination. "We were, and the boy, too, all three vaccinated



ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR.

Photo : Pictorial Agency.

tiful and imposing the effect of the whole scene was in the fine old Chapel, with the banners, the music, and the light shining on the altar" The infant behaved with becoming propriety, even at the critical moment when he was sprinkled with water from the River Jordan. "You will have heard how perfectly and splendidly everything went off on the 25th," the Queen wrote to her uncle Leopold.

from the same child yesterday!" wrote the Queen on February 8th. Thereafter, the Royal guest for the christening having departed for his own kingdom, the Queen and the Prince Consort and the "awfully large nursery" betook themselves to Brighton, the Heir to the Throne thus making his first acquaintance with a town for which in later life he had a special fondness. The next

glimpse we get of him is at the age of one year, when Baron Stockmar, the confidential adviser of the Prince Consort, presents him in one of his letters as "strong upon his legs, with a calm, clear, bright expression of face," but "a little plagued with his teeth." "Princey" was his nursery name, and about those teeth Mr. Punch made a capital joke. Sir Charles Ross painted a portrait of the boy—"a bright, chubby-faced infant in a baby cap," says Mrs. Tooley in describing his work. "The Prince of Wales," observed the Jester, "was safely delivered of a tooth one day last week, when Sir Charles Ross, the miniature painter, received instructions to draw it." By pleasantries such as these the nation was kept in touch with the life of the Royal nursery, and stories more or less trivial gained currency as the little man learned to toddle and developed a personality. A governess was installed in the person of Lady Lyttelton, sister of Mrs. Gladstone, and it is not improbable that she found "Princey" "something of a handful" at times, for his disposition was lively, and he enjoyed exuberant health. Indeed, nothing is told of the ailments common to early childhood; these he seems to have escaped, being more fortunate in that respect than his elder sister. Sir Charles Lyell saw him on one of his visits to Balmoral. "A pleasing, lively boy," is his description; and he set down what the Prince had told him of a conjuring trick of Anderson's: "He cut to pieces Mamma's handkerchief, then darned it and ironed it so that it was as entire as ever. He then fired a pistol and caused five or six watches to go through Gibbs's head [Gibbs was one of the footmen]. But Papa knows how all these things are

done, and had the watches really gone through Gibbs's head he could hardly have looked so well—though he was confounded."

Mrs. Tooley tells a story of a boyish prank at the expense of Burnand, the sculptor, who was commissioned to make the first bust of the Prince. A studio was arranged for him close to the nurseries at Buckingham Palace, and each morning "Priucey" came to sit. He was a lively little fellow of five years old, and not fond of keeping in one position. He was much interested in the sculptor's work, however, and begged to be allowed to model his own face. Mr. Burnand was glad to afford him this amusement, and gave him a cast to fill with clay. "Princey" was greatly delighted, and after he had finished filling the cast, brought it to the sculptor. As Mr. Burnand turned to look, the little Prince in a mischievous mood dashed it in the unfortunate sculptor's face, laughing merrily the while.

Lady Lyttelton was an admirable governess, much beloved by her little charges and their illustrious parents. As was her habit, the Queen consulted Lord Melbourne on this matter. He agreed with Her Majesty that the person chosen should be a lady of rank, but it was of more importance, he observed, that she should be a woman of sense and discretion than a duchess, a marchioness or a countess. Given capacity to fulfil the duties of the office, "it would not be well to consider either high or low rank as a disqualification." The Queen wrote to him later: "Lady Lyttelton is established here [Buckingham Palace] in her office, and does everything admirably." With that discreet and gracious

lady the Prince may be left for a time to his pothooks and hangers, the spelling of monosyllables, the counting of tens and hundreds, and other intellectual avocations of childhood. But not without a word or two of some contemporary presentations of him. People who rummage in old portfolios and bureaux may not unlikely come across a print which was in almost every household in 1843, for it was highly popular because of its artistic skill and the clearness and delicacy of its drawing, but who the artist was does not appear on the copy seen by this writer. It shows the Prince as a shapely and graceful child of two, standing on a circular table; then, as now and ever, it was the custom to place children in their best clothes on a table as soon as they could stand alone, and thus make them the centre of an admiring group of elders. It is one of the inevitable rites of baby worship when infancy is passing.

On this idea the artist has exercised a fanciful and courtly pencil. Certainly he has drawn a very handsome child, for the face is full of intelligence and vivacity. It is endowed with what Leigh Hunt, who constituted himself a sort of informal Poet Laureate during the long and melancholy illness of Southey, the holder of that office, rather audaciously called, in some verses to the Queen, "the ripe Guelph cheek and good, straight Coburg brow"; and the eyes are full and open. The face, indeed, expresses in a few strokes the Queen's rather rapturous description of the beauty of the child. The Prince is wearing a bonnet adorned with the striking white plumes of the Prince of Wales, and this device, and the rose, the thistle, and the shamrock, are the themes embroidered on the frock, which is fast-

ened with bows at the shoulders and reaches just below the knees. In his right hand the Prince carries a posy of roses, thistles and shamrock, and the pose of the figure is most spirited and graceful. For background there is a dark, flowing, richly decorated robe half encircling the figure, and beyond it a representation of the cushion bearing the Royal regalia. Altogether it is a very happy production, in which the artist has contrived to suggest a strong likeness to the Queen herself as she was at this period of her life. With a print such as this passing from hand to hand, no wonder the impression grew that the Heir to the Throne was a child of quite exceptional charm. At the age of three the Prince was painted by Hensel, who represented him half clad, seated cross-legged, and placing a chaplet of flowers round the neck of a toy eagle. Here again the beauty of the child is noticeable; it was evidently no artist's flattery. This picture is in the possession of the present German Emperor, to whom it must now have a sorrowful significance indeed. Winterhalter also painted him at the age of eight with his brother, the Duke of Edinburgh, afterwards Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. Both lads are in Highland costume, and the scene is one of loch and mountain and cloud-swept northern skies. A very quaint presentation of the Prince, and, indeed, of the Queen and Prince Consort, the Princess Royal and the little Duke, is given in Cleland's painting of the landing of the Queen at Aberdeen during one of the Royal visits to Scotland. The lad was in a long tunic belted at the waist, with a linen collar adorned with a large bow, and he was wearing broad white trousers. Here the Prince, with one



THE ROYAL FAMILY IN 1846, SHOWING EDWARD VII. STANDING BESIDE QUEEN VICTORIA.

From the Painting by F. A. Winterhalter.

hand in his father's and the other carrying a broad-brimmed straw hat, looks like a figure in Dresden china. He had at this time luxuriant curly locks, which sent the mothers of England into ecstasies of admiration. The painters of that time revelled in depicting the wavy masses of hair, so good a framework did they afford for the vivacious features and full blue eyes. In Cleland's picture, as in Winterhalter's, the locks are disciplined and parted on the left side—shorn, too, of the tumbling effect shown in the drawings of the nursery period, but still left falling thickly over the ears. It was the style of the period, and it was continued through youth and manhood by all as long as nature allowed. The fashion of close cropping became general only in the 'eighties. In Cleland's picture of the Prince at the age of eight there is to be seen an early forecast of the Prince as a young man. Winterhalter painted the Prince in 1847 in a sailor suit, hands in pockets—surely an unsailor-like practice. The hair here is still uncut and flowing about the face in formal curls. Landseer and Thorburn also painted him at this period, the first showing him in

the company of the Queen and the Princess Royal in a beautiful Highland scene, the little Prince in Highland dress, and talking to a ghillie with a pony, across whose back a dead stag is slung, and with whom there is one of those living, thinking deerhounds the great animal painter delighted to draw.

The figure of the Prince is instinct with energy and animation. Thorburn's picture is in a wholly different vein, and is a conception equally characteristic of the artist. It is an interior scene with a landscape outlook. The Queen is seated, and the Prince is standing at her knee and looking up into her face listening to her words—evidently grave and kindly serious words, for the expression on his face is one of fond thoughtfulness, of wistful



PRINCE EDWARD AT THE AGE OF SIX.
(From the Painting by F. X. Winterhalter.)

wonderment. It is a new interpretation of the life of the child, for the artist caught him at a serious moment; and these were probably rare, for all other painters depict him with a scarcely repressible gleam of mischief in his eyes, and with laughter playing about the lips. The nation had then no access to these paintings or to reproductions of them, for photography was not to come into use for another

ST. MICHAEL'S

MOUNT. CORNWALL.



ten years ; and its general employment would have been further delayed but for the encouragement given to the new process by the Court, the members of the Royal Family being among the first to submit themselves to the camera. Wherever the Court went, however, the children also went, and the young Prince and his brothers and sisters became known in person to an ever-widening circle. Neither the Queen nor the Prince Consort could do without the society of the nursery ; they were both devoted to their children, to whose claims for their intimate and constant companionship they paid a most generous regard.

Affairs of State and social life were not allowed to conflict with their parental obligations. The principle they followed was that a child should grow up with the father and mother—that family life and the happiness of the family circle should be cultivated not less assiduously and faithfully than the discharge of duties in the world outside the home. Thus, they shared their recreations with the little ones, and spent their brief spells of

leisure with them, and in ways such as were most suitable for the children rather than for themselves. In 1846 they took the Prince and the Princess Royal on a cruise in the Channel in the Royal yacht the *Victoria and Albert*. They started from Osborne, whither the Court had removed from London, in the first week in August, and after touching at Weymouth, Mount Edgcumbe, and visiting the Channel Islands, cruised about the coast of Cornwall. The children were shown Land's End, St. Michael's Mount, and the summer glories of the Scilly Isles. Everywhere they were received with delighted interest, and there was even more curiosity to see the young Prince and Princess than the Royal parents. "Boats crowded round us in all directions," wrote the Queen in one of her letters from off the Cornish coast, "and when Bertie showed himself the people shouted : 'Three cheers for the Duke of Cornwall' "—a title naturally dearer to them than that of Prince of Wales. "The Corporation of Penrhyn were on board, and very anxious to see the Duke of

Cornwall, so I stepped out of the parlour with Bertie, and Lord Palmerston told them that that was the Duke of Cornwall, and the old Mayor of Penrhyn said that he 'hoped he would grow up to be a blessing to his parents and to his country.'" The Queen dressed him in a sailor suit for the first time during this cruise. "The officers and men of the Royal yacht, who were assembled on deck to see him," she wrote, "cheered and seemed delighted with him." In the next summer the Royal party, with the children's governess—now Mrs. Hildyard, who had succeeded Lady Lyttelton on her retirement from the position—extended the cruise from Osborne round the coast of Wales and through the Irish Sea to the west coast of Scotland. The Princess Royal was also a very beautiful child. The people did not know whom to admire the more—the charming little Princess or the handsome, manly, mischievous-looking little Prince. They lavished interest and admiration on both. Of the educative value and pleasure of summer cruises such as these, it would be agreeable, but it would be needless, to write. It can easily be imagined how they would enlarge the horizon of the children's minds, and how the curiosity to see the Prince and do him honour would insensibly initiate him into a realisation of the position it was his destiny to hold among men.

The early childhood of King Edward has now been described with a detail which the reader may deem sufficient—with touches of triviality, too, which some may regard as superfluous. But the environment of infancy is surely as important an element for the development of a personality as that of later

childhood can be. Indeed, it is arguable that the first few years of existence have a more determining influence on the life as a whole than any other formative period can have. They are the years in which physical health is made or marred, the years in which the temperament and disposition are finely or ill developed by parental love and wisdom, or parental deficiencies in sympathy and in the right treatment of the young life.

The early environment of King Edward as nearly approached the ideal as any such environment could do. He came, as Lord Melbourne had observed, of good stock on both sides. He was born without blemish, of parents in the prime of youth and health, each of them endowed with beauty of form and rare qualities of mind and character; each having for the other an affection so high and deep that their union presents one of the purest and most elevating stories of wedded happiness in the biographical literature of our era. All these things count for much. They account for the beauty and charm of the infant Prince, for early influences and tender associations by which mind and emotions were formed and controlled and guided along the right lines of self-expression. From the first assertions of individuality in the cradle the young life was moulded with affectionate care by its authors. No child had or could have had more intelligent love and care lavished upon its infancy. Add to these all that wealth, wisely used, could bring in ministering to the needs of the child, in giving to the life such a setting that nothing mean or coarse or brutal should mar its growth, and it will be realised that the Royal child started life under conditions seldom

attainable in the world. Contrast those conditions with those of the child born in town or village slum, too often of parents physically and morally debased and degraded, certainly of parents whose economic circumstances perforce deprive their offspring of a sufficiency of light and air, of suitable food and clothing in the varying seasons, of skilled attention. To imagine such a case—and there are millions of such cases in our deplorably

faulty social organisation—is to imagine a life exposed to physical peril at every hour, and to moral and temperamental malformation from the outset. But this vein of thought need not be pursued. A brief exposure of it will have sufficed to enable the reader to realise how near to perfection were the hereditary and envying circumstances of the infancy of King Edward the Seventh, and the potency of its influence on his reign.



ROYAL WINDSOR.

CHAPTER II

THE ANCESTRY OF THE GUELPHS

The House of Brunswick—Flight of James II.—The Wars of Religion—Powers of the Bill of Rights—Queen Anne and Sophia, Electress of Hanover—A Crown in the Balance—Why the Pretender Failed—The Coming of the House of Guelph—George I. and His Descendants—A Match-making King—Threatened Opposition—Girlhood of Victoria—Early Days at Rosenau—A Character Sketch of Prince Albert—The Cousins Together—Cares of a Crown—A Determined Lover—Marriage of Victoria and Albert.

THE House of Brunswick, through which the infant Prince was descended through his mother, Queen Victoria, claimed to be the oldest princely family in Germany. The surname of Guelph was traced by the learned Leibniz—the “union of Leibniz with Newton” was a phrase synonymous with the union of England and Hanover—to the dawn of civilisation in Europe. One tradition, indeed, derives the name from a general who held command in the army of Belisarius. In the Middle Ages the family won vast possessions, which were divided and subdivided among its members on so many occasions that the record becomes too complicated for clear and brief exposition. It had, however, followed two main lines of division, the Luneburg Dukes and the Brunswick Dukes, who together asserted an influence unsurpassed by that of any other House in Northern Germany. In the Wars of Religion they took the Protestant side, and in the sixteenth century were at the height of their political power. The link with the destinies of England, apart from their common interest in the struggle against the Papacy and the Catholic Powers, was forged by the marriage of Sophia, granddaughter of James I and youngest daughter of the Princess Eliza-

beth of England—that sister of Prince Rupert whose short tenure of the throne of Bohemia with her husband Frederick, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, and whose long years of exile form a romantic story which is told in countless biographies. Sophia married Ernest Augustus, one of the Dukes of the Luneburg branch of the House of Brunswick, whose inheritance comprised the kingdom of Hanover. To that principality he succeeded in 1679. In 1688—the year of the flight of James II.—the eldest son of Ernest Augustus and Sophia, George Lewis, afterwards George I., was a man of eight-and-twenty, with a son, George Augustus, afterwards George II., and a daughter, whose destiny it was to become Queen of Prussia. There were also other sons and daughters of Ernest and Sophia, and the succession was thus abundantly assured. It had, moreover, been rendered yet more secure by the determination of certain family issues in a testamentary disposition laying down the principle of succession by primogeniture. The solidarity of the dominions of the House was also established, and further divisions of the territories barred. Thus Ernest Augustus was enabled to claim the of Elector of the German Empire, on this there was a controversy, atus ough ing

his admission to the Electoral College, which was not entered until his son—our own George I.—had succeeded him.

The House of Hanover was, as has been said, a Protestant House, and in view of the recurrence of the controversy about the Royal Declaration against certain Roman doctrines—a controversy swiftly ripening to a settlement in our own time—it may not be amiss to recall the cir-

Papists, or Protestants who married Papists. The Sovereign of England must therefore be a Protestant, and his wife also—conditions fulfilled by the heir of Ernest Augustus and Sophia. On the death of the only surviving son of Anne—the Duke of Gloucester—it became necessary to provide for the succession to the Throne of England, for James II. still lived, and the son who was afterwards



FLIGHT OF JAMES II. FROM LONDON.
(From an engraving by Romeyn de Hooghe.)

cumstances under which none other than a Protestant Sovereign can sit on the Throne of England. On the arrival of William and Mary after the flight of James, the House of Commons sent up to the Lords a resolution declaring that a Popish Sovereign could not coexist with a Protestant Government; and to this the Lords agreed. This principle was incorporated with the Bill of Rights, which became a statute in the new Parliament in October, 1689. This Act, after restricting the powers of the Crown in various matters which do not here concern us, excluded from the throne

to carry the Stuart sword as far south as Derby in a futile effort to recover his inheritance. The Act of Settlement of 1701 was therefore passed, though not without considerable intrigue for and against the exiled family. This Act still further limited the Royal Prerogative by making the judges irremovable by the Sovereign; but its cardinal provision was that the Crown should pass on the death of Anne to the Electress Sophia and her Protestant descendants. The Electress was then a woman of seventy, and one of the most remarkable characters in Europe. Her Stuart ancestry showed

itself in her intellectual powers, her cultivated tastes, her high courage, her steadfast resolution. Though a severe Lutheran, steeped in the doctrines of Calvin, she was no bigot, and cherished the ideal of an eventual reunion of the sects. When at her mother's Court in England, it had been her practice to attend the services of the Church of England, and she understood to a nicety the kind of Protestantism which would be acceptable to the English nation, which was then beginning to recover from the bitter intolerance of the Reformation period. Her life had been spent, in a political sense, in watching and waiting upon events in England, and as these developed, the probability of the Crown passing to her or through her to her children became almost a certainty. The provision in the Bill of Rights barring Catholics or those who married Catholics swept out of the field a host of possible candidates in the event of Anne leaving no successor, as was all too likely, for the Duke of Gloucester was a weakling. Indeed, at that time Bishop Burnett, acting on the instruction of King William, moved in the Lords an amendment naming Sophia and her descendants as next in succession. But the Commons rejected it in the interests of the possible children of Anne, and the point was not pressed, especially as Anne gave birth to the Duke of Gloucester while the subject was still open. The way was thus prepared for the Hanoverian succession, and throughout the reign of Anne the eyes of England—at least, with the exception of those whose vision was directed to the fugitive Sovereign in France, and the son whom Louis had acknowledged as James III.—were directed to the Court at Hanover.



QUEEN ANNE.

(From the mezzotint by J. Smith, after Sir Godfrey Kneller.)

The Electress Sophia would probably have made a great Queen of England had her chance come early in life. She was English enough to be able to adapt herself to English ways and modes of thought. She had known the country in childhood. She was a woman of large mind and generous sympathies, of cultivated and refined tastes. Her son George Lewis did not share her finer qualities. He had no wish to become King of England. That was one of the disagreeable necessities of his lot. He knew no English, and would not learn the language. To the end of his reign he could not converse with his Ministers. His chief interest in the succession was in the military power it would bring to his House in the affairs of Europe, for he had the ambitions of a soldier, and his courage was indisputable.

But enough has been said of him for

our purpose. The Electress is the chief figure upon which attention should be directed. Anne was tepid about the Hanoverian succession. Her thoughts were with the exiled half-brother, living in dependence and unhappiness abroad. She consented to the appearance of the name of the Electress in the Prayer Book, but she disapproved of a proposal made in Parliament to grant an annual allowance to Sophia, which that Princess did not want and would not have. Nor would the Queen invite her to visit England, though she created her husband Duke of Cambridge, and gave him the Garter. In 1705 an Address was voted in the Commons, but thrown out by the Lords, asking that the Electress be invited to take up her residence in England. This manœuvre failing, a Bill was passed conferring naturalisation upon the Electress. She thus became legally an Englishwoman. A further Bill empowered her to appoint Lords Justices to carry on the Government with the officers of the Crown during such time as she might be out of England at the death of Anne. A deputation was sent to her at Hanover to acquaint her with these measures. A few years later her heir was made a Knight of the Garter. Thus things went on, the chances of the Hanoverian succession fluctuating with the varying fortunes of party warfare in English Court and Parliament, but on the whole improving steadily.

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With the failure of the Queen's health in 1713, there came a crisis. The star of the Pretender seemed to be in the ascendant. There was a glamour about him which the Electoral Prince did not possess. The more that was learned of George Lewis the less was he liked. The English nation was not puritanically virtuous in the reign of Anne, and in personal affairs its attitude was widely tolerant; but the unhappy story of Sophia Dorothea, the wife who herself had erred, in common with a husband notorious for his mistresses, and whose after life was spent in confinement at Ahlden, did not commend him to popular favour. It was common report—George Lewis never troubled to conceal the fact—that he cared little whether or no he became King of England. The Pretender might have had the reversion of the throne at this juncture had he abandoned his Catholicism; but this he declined to do. On the other hand, the Protestantism of George Lewis was unimpeachable, at least, in the political sense; and there seemed no other solution of



THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT OF THE PERIOD.

the problem for England than to have a Protestant Sovereign, be he popular or otherwise, and whatever risks might be run in putting him there—risks not slight, for Bolingbroke was among those who averred that no German Prince, least of all George Lewis, would reign for long in England. Thus things went on, with intrigues interminable and baffling confusions, until 1714, when George Lewis was blunderingly invited to England. He did not come, but the intrigue of which the proposed visit was the outcome led to a quarrel between Anne and the Electress, the English Queen—or Bolingbroke for her—writing what Dr. A. W. Ward, a masterly historian of the period, described as letters couched “in terms of intolerable

arrogance and violent menace.” They reached the aged Electress, now in her eighty-fourth year, on the 5th and 6th of June, and they gave her a shock from which she died. Her husband endeavoured to conciliate the Queen, but he kept his emissaries active in England. As July advanced Queen Anne became alarmingly ill. On the 1st of August she died, and on that day King George I. was proclaimed in London, in accordance with arrangements previously devised.

The nation took the accession as a

matter of course. He was a Protestant Sovereign and the succession was assured. These were the main things to be kept in view. He tarried in the Low Countries until September, and on the 18th landed in Greenwich, bringing his mistress with him. On the 20th he made his entry into London, where he was received

without extraordinary enthusiasm. Thus inauspiciously did the House of Guelph furnish England with a dynasty—a dynasty which was, however, to produce a Queen Victoria and an Edward the Seventh.

In their living descendants there is, happily, no likelihood of a reversion to the personal follies and political ineptitudes of their eighteenth century fore-runners. Rather is there every pro-

mise that the reigns of these two illustrious Sovereigns will be equalled, if not surpassed. Certain is it that as time marches on, and the waste spaces of the British Empire fill up, the opportunities for kingcraft and statesmanship enlarge. There are glories to be won in this age such as were not open in the days when Europe was the theatre of incessant war, and the Guelphs won their way to a principality by the sword—not glories of conquest such as those in which the ruling families of the West took their



GEORGE I.



Photo: H. Walter Barnett

[Hyde Park Corner, 12, Knightsbridge, S.W.]

KING GEORGE V.

rise, but glories of diplomacy, of the right utilisation of the vast territories under the sceptre of a Guelph, of the adjustment of rival interests within the nation and the Empire, of the progress of society towards the stage when there shall be no hunger in our streets, and every child born under the Sovereignty shall have a fair prospect of becoming a dutiful and happy citizen. Ambitious, strong-handed, valiant men of war, as the Guelphs of mediæval story were—fine statesmen and astute diplomatists as some of them were in building up the fortunes of their family, and of the people whom they led and governed—none had opportunities so great and responsibilities so extensive as those that have fallen to the lot of their descendant, George V. In his wildest dreams, no member of this German principality could have foreseen the growth of an Empire such as ours; no visionary of this Princely House could have imagined that a Guelph would reign over it. It is one of the romances of human history, a romance inextricably interwoven with our religious differences in these islands, that a Guelph should be reigning over it: a Guelph, too, as thoroughly English in mind and temper as any of us whose names and ancestry denote an origin in the creative period of England before the Conquest. From Northern Europe all of us who are not of Celtic blood have come. From Northern Europe, two hundred years ago, we immigrated a new dynasty. It took a full century to absorb it; a painful process alike for Monarchs and for people. Not until the accession of Victoria was the original immigration justified by its fruits. The effulgence of that long Sovereignty was maintained undiminished by her successor. Great cause, indeed, have we

to be grateful to our forefathers for introducing the Guelphs amongst us, despite the opposition of a not inconsiderable minority with fine traditions of loyalty and high national ideals. And it is because of that reason for thankfulness that we have given this outline of the story of the Hanoverian succession.

On his father's side, King Edward acquired some of the personal characteristics and mental qualities of the ancient Ducal House of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld. If King William IV. could have had his way, his father would have been Prince Alexander of the Netherlands, who was put forward as a possible candidate in opposition to Prince Albert of Coburg. King Leopold of Belgium arranged for a visit at Kensington Palace of the two sons of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg to the Princess Victoria, their cousin, in 1836, and when King William heard of this proposal, he found means of putting difficulties in the way; but not successfully. In these circumstances he invited the Prince of Orange and his two sons at the same time. The matter was complicated by a little rivalry between the Prince of Orange and King Leopold, for the Prince had been a suitor for the heart of Princess Charlotte, but had to give place to Leopold, of whom he observed: "*Voilà un homme qui a pris ma femme et mon royaume!*" King William was credited with the declaration that Victoria should marry Prince Alexander or no one, and that the Duke of Saxe-Coburg and his sons should not be allowed to land in England. This, however, was but the expression of a futile vexation, and the visit of the Duke Ernest and his sons, Albert and Ernest, was made, much to the gratification of

the Princess Victoria, who found Prince Albert "extremely handsome, which Ernest certainly is not, but he has a most good-natured, honest and intelligent countenance." King Leopold had contrived to mar Prince Alexander's prospects, if he ever had any, by writing to his niece an indignant letter on the scheming of King William to frustrate the meeting. It is dated the 13th of May, 1836, and its candour almost takes away the breath. The full text is given in the "Letters of Queen Victoria":—

"I am really *astonished* at the conduct of your old Uncle the King; this invitation of the Prince of Orange and his sons, this forcing him upon others, is very extraordinary. . . . Not later than yesterday I got a half-official communication from England, insinuating that it would be *highly* desirable that the visit of *your* relatives *should not take place this year—qu'en dites-vous?* The relations of the Queen and the King, therefore, to the God-knows-what degree, are to come in shoals and rule the land, when *your relations* are to be *forbidden* the country, and that when, as you know, the whole of your relations have ever been very dutiful and kind to the King. Really and truly I never heard or saw anything like it, and I hope it will a *little rouse your spirit*; now that slavery is even abolished

in the British Colonies, I do not comprehend *why your lot alone should be to be kept, a white little slavey in England*, for the pleasure of the Court, who never bought you, as I am not aware of their having gone to any expense on that head, or the King's even having *spent a sixpence for your existence*. I expect that

my visits in England will also be prohibited by an Order in Council. Oh, consistency and political or *other honesty*, where must one look for you!

"I have not the least doubt that the King, in his passion for the Oranges, will be *excessively rude to your relations*; this, however, will not signify much; they are *your guests* and not *his*, and will therefore *not* mind it. . . ."

A letter of that nature was quite sufficient to give the



LEOPOLD OF BELGIUM IN 1841.

young Princess's mind a bias against any possible suitor selected by King William, with whom she had never been on terms of sympathy. The fact was that Uncle Leopold had determined to bring about the marriage between the cousins long before any thought of wedlock could have entered the mind of either of them. This intention was probably formed while they were in the cradle, for at the baptism of Albert we find the Court preacher speaking significantly of him as one "destined to be great on earth," and considering "the

high position in life to which he may one day be called"—observations not wholly applicable to the second son of a House relatively unimportant. The story of the courtship has been fully told in the various Lives of Queen Victoria, but it will not be amiss to recount it anew.

Over the childhood and training of Victoria, King Leopold watched with all the interest of a statesman and all the tenderness of a father. He introduced less disturbance than a father would have done, for all his own larger life was apart from the gentle household; but he was wiser than most fathers, and took the largest view of the trust thus confided to his hands; and all that the kindest and most watchful care could do he

did for his sister and her precious charge. For already, too, other visions of the future were dawning before the far-seeing eyes of the man who—with the sincerest desire for the welfare of England, and a longing, no doubt made all the stronger by the melancholy failure of his personal hopes, to give to the country which had received him so kindly a noble Sovereign—had, at the same

time, a natural wish to advance his own family, worthy by constitution and character as it had already proved itself. Another child, standing to him in exactly the same relationship as the little Victoria, had been born just after her in the Ducal Court at Saxe-Coburg, in the

cheerful country house of the Rosenau, a child occupying the position to which he himself had been born, as the little Princess did that of his young wife so early lost. What wonder if the heart of the statesman Prince, still sore from that wound, pleased itself with the thought of another union which should carry out all his aborted hopes? While the children were still in their cradles this idea seems to have communicated it-

self to all about them. The family were in constant communication, the Duchess of Kent and the Duchess of Saxe-Coburg exchanging their pleasant experiences and bits of nursery news as mothers will do as long as the species shall last. All the doings and sayings of "the little May flower," as the Princess was called by her kind German kinsfolk, were recorded with fond simplicity for the



THE DUCHESS OF KENT AND HER DAUGHTER (QUEEN VICTORIA) AT THE AGE OF FIFTEEN.

(From the picture by Sir George Hayter.)



KENSINGTON

PALACE

Photo: York & Son, Notting Hill.

TWO ROYAL HOMES

THE CASTLE

COBURG

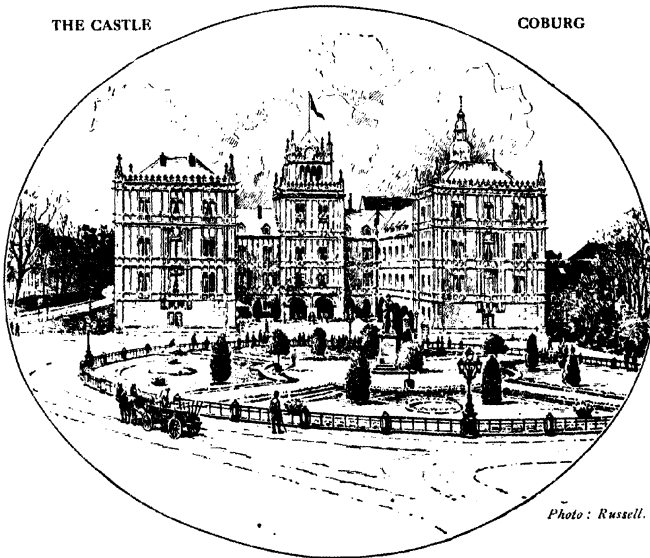


Photo: Russell.



THE DUKE OF KENT.

satisfaction of the old grandmother at home. The good German nurse, who passed from one house to another as her services were wanted, could not sufficiently describe "what a dear little love" the baby at Kensington was, and the baby at the Rosenau had the enthusiastic pen of his mother to do him full justice. Albert was of extraordinary beauty, this impartial historian declared: he had "great blue eyes, dimples on each cheek, three teeth, and at eight months old was beginning to walk." Great news! Enough to make the other nursery thrill with emulation as these notes were compared. What a compensation lies in this sweet babble of childhood—for women's hearts, at least! For both the poor ladies who wrote had troubles enough: the one in England had to hold her own with modest courage in face of the criticism and doubtful friendliness of a foreign society, in face of poverty and loneliness. The other was on the brink

of a complete separation from home and children. A dark background full of human trouble and sorrow thus spread behind the two angelic heads that looked out wondering, with blue eyes wide open, upon the world. But nothing could be more charming and touching than this baby pair, destined to each other from their cradles, and with so much hope and so many plans already moving over their innocent heads.

The interesting story of the girlhood of the late King Edward's mother tells of her advancement towards womanhood in an atmosphere as nearly resembling the wholesome quiet in which childhood is ordinarily allowed to develop as was possible, and amid those natural relationships which make life sweet, and give so many delightful and sustaining memories to youth. No one more warmly acknowledged the power of these early associations than did Queen Victoria. Her heart was



THE DUCHESS OF KENT.

faithful to all the companions of her early days—her sister, who was her closest friend and counsellor through life, her good governess, who “never took a holiday,” as the Queen said, nor had a thought beyond the welfare of her pupil. Of those who surrounded her in those early days she forgot none, not even the crossing-sweeper near the gates of Kensington Palace, who received a pension when the little Princess became a great Queen.

We have already hinted at the hopes that had early arisen in the heart of the King of the Belgians in regard to the future for Prince Albert, and here, as we deal with its consummation, some brief reference to the youth of the Prince Consort and the means by which this marriage, which meant so much to England, was encompassed, are given. King Leopold, the kind and wise uncle of both, was one of those born statesmen and controllers of the world who seem to exercise such an influence over future events, and over the wayward impulses of nature, as are to be found nowhere else out of a fairy tale. He and his astute counsellor, Stockmar, the future tutorial adviser of Edward VII.'s earliest years, seem to have decided the future fortunes of these children, the girl with the most splendid prospects in the world, the boy with none at all, except the empty honour of a princely title which hampered more than it aided a youth of promise and high spirit. Many such plans have been heard of both in public and private history; but it is seldom that they come to anything, and more seldom still that they tend to happiness. In this case, however, two subtle and commanding brains were set to work from the first to bring the foregone conclusion

about—three indeed, we may say, for no doubt the Duchess of Kent must have worked more or less in the same interest, though not so powerfully, out of favour as that poor lady was. If we might paraphrase the words of the poet, “He for God only, she for God in him,” we might be permitted to say that it was she for Great Britain only, he for her



THE PRINCESS VICTORIA.

(From the Engraving by Dean, after an original drawing.)

kingdom in her, which was the basis of the education of this Royal pair.

Without a word said or a suggestion breathed into either youthful mind, the task of this training, as regarded Prince Albert, was taken up at once, under the keen and close supervision of the man who had all but filled the position for which he educated the boy. No one in the world could have so closely studied the duties of that position and its

necessities, and he had determined from the first that his nephew should fulfil the scheme of duty which he had chalked out for himself. It is deeply interesting to show the seemingly natural and easy development which followed this plan in the skilful hands of Leopold and his coadjutor. The Prince was even better material to work upon than Princess Victoria, being without the waywardness which made the little Princess so provoking and attractive.

The cousins had scarcely come together at all in their early life; indeed, they saw each other apparently for the first time when, under circumstances already narrated, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha visited England in 1836, when both these young people were seventeen, of the same age, agreeable and attractive in looks—two blue-eyed human creatures looking this great life frankly in the face, as hopeful and unclouded as became their years; the girl a little *espégle*, loving to startle and to tease, the boy graver, disciplined and subordinate to the tips of his fingers, after the fashion of a German boy, and perhaps more or less aware by this time in what direction his careful education had tended. He is described by Baron Stockmar in a letter written on the eve of this eventful meeting to the anxious uncle, whose long-cherished plans were now about to be put to the test:—

"Albert is a fine young fellow, well grown for his age, with agreeable and valuable qualities, who, if things go well, may in a few years turn out a strong, handsome man of a kindly, simple, yet dignified demeanour. Externally, therefore, he possesses all that pleases the sex, at all times and in all countries."

This was the external aspect of the youth; his mind, a more inscrutable subject, was largely discussed between the wise and anxious counsellors who hoped to see in him the model Prince, the typical man, at once hero and sage. But even to these penetrating statesmen the youth's thoughts were as yet impenetrable, and could be regarded with hope only, not certainty. He had a pleasant reputation, if that had been of any consequence, as concerned the lighter qualities suited to his age—a light heart, a love of laughter as well as knowledge, and a capacity for keeping his fellow-students in a roar of genial fun—as well as of winning the approbation of the elders who were bent on fathoming the deepest secrets of his being. There is so much gravity in the story that the mirth is doubly welcome when we hear of it, and no doubt was quite as much in the young man's favour as his fine features and well-developed frame.

The Duke of Saxe-Coburg and his sons arrived at Kensington Palace in the end of May, 1836, and there is a record of the meeting in a letter by Victoria to Leopold and in the brief letters of the Prince, published in his *Memoirs*, which give few details. His aunt and cousin were "very kind" and "most amiable." This is all the modest boy discloses, and probably there was not much more to tell. The world had its suspicions that something more was meant than met the eye, when the young cousins were thus brought together; but no gleam of consciousness shows itself in the kind, simple letters. The cousins had known each other all their lives, though they had never met before, and ordinary life has many examples of the pleasant

familiarity, yet strangeness, of such intercourse. The father and sons stayed some weeks in London, and were at levees,

one evening, at least, there was "a brilliant ball at Kensington Palace," at which the young Germans, unused to such late



PRINCE ALBERT OF SAXE-COBURG.

(From the Painting by R. Thorburn, A.R.A.)

Court dinners, and concerts, long protracted, during which the young visitor had many "hard battles to fight against sleepiness," so young was he, and so untried in fashionable dissipations. On

hours, remained till four o'clock in the morning. The curious reader would like to know how often the cousins danced together, and if each felt the charm and attraction of the other amid all the

music and the mirth. There were stories going, of which we remember to have heard some echo, of flowers bestowed and looks exchanged, the gossip of the ball-room, but these are not things likely to be specified in letters to the mother at home.

When the Prince left England, however, King Leopold, who was still, as always, watching over everything, broke the silence and wrote to his niece. The Princess replied with amusing but careless warmth, and a frankness which was too like indifference, apparently accepting the arrangement without hesitation, and lightly enjoining her uncle to take under his special protection "one now so dear to me."

Whether the King was satisfied with this too prompt adherence to his plans, or suspected any levity in the sudden assurance, we are not told. The chief person on the other side said nothing. He gave his cousin a little simple ring on her birthday, a present which was justified, as the Queen herself explains in a note to Tulloch's "Story of the Life of the Prince Consort," by the fact that "her brother," the Prince of Leiningen, had made her a similar gift; and he went away upon the travels already planned for him, evidently not without thought of her, sending her little tokens of remembrance, such as a flower gathered on the Righi, a book of prints to show his route, and other trifles, very natural simple tokens of a delicate amity, perhaps to float away altogether with the morning mists, perhaps to ripen into warmer emotion, such as arises every day between youth and maiden hovering upon the verge of life.

The grave event of her Accession turned the young lady's thoughts away from

these preliminaries of serious courtship. By and by her communications to her uncle became less satisfactory. The change that had taken place "had put all ideas of marriage out of her head," she wrote. She was too busy enjoying her wonderful new occupation of Sovereignty, going into every detail of it, reading every paper, curious, eager, taking full advantage of every novelty in her way, and especially of the novelty of doing what she liked and guiding herself by her own will alone. Queen Victoria described herself in after days as "bitterly repentant" of this moment of caprice. It was her wayward and wilful time, when she would not be thwarted nor accept any decision but her own—a very great contrast to the cheerful calmness with which she had accepted her uncle's project a year before, but at least quite as natural. The extreme good sense of her explanation sprang, perhaps, simply from her desire to enjoy the moment without being troubled by any more momentous conclusion than where she should ride to-morrow or with whom she should dance to-night, but at least the good sense of her excuses was unanswerable; she was herself too young, she urged, so also was the Prince. The letter in which she gave forth these wise sentiments was written in the beginning of 1838, when neither she nor her cousin had yet attained the mature age of nineteen. Such a marriage, she said, would be considered by her subjects as premature. Moreover, his mastery of the English tongue was as yet very imperfect, and if he were to take up a proper position in England this defect ought to be remedied; with many other most cogent reasons for delay. She was now



Photo: Emery Walker.

QUEEN VICTORIA IN HER CORONATION ROBES.

(From the Painting by Sir George Hayter.)

too sensible, as she had been too careless before, but nothing could be more admirable than her reasoning, and her uncle accepted the delay and the check to his plans with a wise perception of the necessities of the situation.

Queen Victoria, in after years, when she first gave the story of this period to the world, explained that there was really no change of opinion in her mind. She "never thought of" anyone else. If she were a little fantastic, coy, holding off at arm's length, though without any intention of abandoning the plan, the next great change in her life, all this was nothing more than a young maiden at such a crisis has a right to be indulged in. She was wiser than the elders, who were tantalised by the postponement of their great object, and who no doubt felt that some other fancy might easily flit across so young a brain at any moment. And there were, of course, other suitors, of one of whom, Prince Alexander of the Netherlands, an amusing story is told. While his fate was still hanging in the balance Her Majesty was seen to go to a window to look out after him as he mounted his horse and rode away. The ladies in attendance were greatly fluttered and excited, taking this for a sign of favour; but when, after watching out of sight the retreating figure, clothed in a scarlet uniform surmounted by a hat with nodding green plumes, the young Queen exclaimed with a laugh, "How like a radish he looks!" the interested spectators felt that the matter was settled.

In the meantime the young Prince, the true hero of the tale, who had by this time fully recognised the position,

regarded all this delay and hesitation with some natural impatience; he continued his travels, however, going to Italy, as the best occupation for his time of suspense. When he returned from that tour, it seemed time to take a more definite step, and he went to England with his brother on a visit; from which, however, he does not seem to have expected any particular results. "The Queen declared to my uncle of Belgium that she wished the affair to be considered as broken off, and that for years she would think of no marriage," the Prince himself wrote to one of his anxious friends, with perhaps a little suspicion of wounded feeling in the words. "I mean, therefore, with quiet but firm resolution, to declare on my part that I also withdraw entirely." How it was that, meeting with such serious intention of bidding each other a dignified farewell, the young couple should have rushed into each other's arms instead, the lady forgetting her wisdom and the youth his dignity, let other young men and maidens say. It is a mystery, yet as common as love is, and youth.

It was in October, in the year 1839, that the two young Coburg Princes came to England. They brought with them a letter from King Leopold, which ran as follows:—

"MY DEAREST VICTORIA,

"Your cousins will themselves be the bearers of these lines. I recommend them to you. They are good, honest creatures, deserving your kindness; not pedantic, but really sensible and trustworthy. I have told them that your great wish is that they should be quite at their ease with you."

The young men arrived. Their cousin, no longer the little girl of Kensington in the homely, old-fashioned house, but a great Queen, received them at the top of the royal staircase amid all the magnificence of Windsor Castle, as if these two wandering knights had been emperors. But after this grand reception, the commonest of incidents brought back the princely travellers and the Royal circle into the sympathy of homelier life. Their portman-teaux, it is to be supposed, had gone astray, as happens to so many of us—or, at least, did not arrive in time—and the dinner-hour was near. "Their clothes not having arrived," the Queen writes in her Journal, "they could not appear at dinner, but came in after it in spite of their morning clothes." There was a circle of visitors assembled, and no doubt some little tremor in the air, noddings and whisperings, and a close watch kept on all the looks and words exchanged by the cousins. Prince Albert was now full-grown, in all the freshness of twenty, the age at which a handsome youth is handsomest, before any of the bloom has been rubbed off. "There was in his

countenance a gentleness of expression, and a peculiar sweetness in his smile, with a look of deep thought and high intelligence in his clear blue eyes and expansive forehead that added a charm to the effect he produced in those who saw him, far beyond that derived from mere regularity or beauty of features."

He was unanimously allowed to be as good as he was handsome, full of high purpose and the most delicate conscientiousness. No lover more likely to please ever appeared in enchanted castle or lady's bower. The world knows the *dénouement*.

Such a man was the future King's father.

It is characteristic of the Queen that before she engaged herself she should have satisfied her mind on the subject of Prince Albert's Protestantism. She consulted her Uncle Leopold, who was able to inform her that "the Ernestine branch of the Saxon family has been, there is no doubt, the real cause of the establishment of Protestantism in Germany, and consequently in great parts of Northern Germany. This same line became a martyr to that cause, and was deprived of almost all its possessions in



QUEEN VICTORIA IN 1839.
(From a Landseer sketch.)

consequence of it. Recently there have been two cases of Catholic marriages, but the main branch has remained, and is, in fact, very sincerely Protestant. Both Ernest and Albert are much attached to it, and when deviations took place they were connected more with new branches transplanted out of the parent soil than with what more properly must be con-

sidered as the reigning family." Of the reality of the Prince's Protestantism and of that of the Queen, and of the sincerity and depth of their religious feelings, there is overwhelming evidence in their public and private actions. The "atmosphere" in which King Edward was brought up was that of the purest Protestantism.



WEDDING OF QUEEN VICTORIA AND PRINCE ALBERT.
(After the Painting by Sir George Hayter, R.A.)

CHAPTER III

SOME EARLIER EDWARDS

An Edward of A.D. 901—The Submission of Mercia—The Supremacy of Edward the Elder—Edward the Martyr's Brief Reign—Early Antagonism to Monasticism—Edward the Confessor—Robert the Devil—A Coronation at Winchester—Godwin's Growing Power—Climax and Flight—The Welsh Invade England—A Forerunner of Westminster Abbey—The Consolidation of England—Edward I. on the Throne—The Land Question in 1275—The First Prince of Wales—The Rule of Edward II.—Edward III. and the "Shameful Peace"—Downfall of Mortimer—Edward IV.—The Wars of the Roses—The Pathetic End of Edward V. and its Sequel—The Brief Reign of Edward VI.

A CHAPTER reviewing matters of history and lineage may fittingly be supplemented by a few references to previous Sovereigns of England who bore the name of Edward. It was not surprising that His Majesty should have preferred to be known as King Edward the Seventh rather than King Albert the First, for the name of Edward carries the imagination back through the centuries to his distant ancestor Edward the Elder, who was the son, and, in A.D. 901, the successor of King Alfred the Great.

Before he had ascended the throne, this first King of our island to bear the name of Edward had already distinguished himself in the wars against the Danes, and seems to have been unanimously chosen king on his father's death; but Ethelwald, a son of Ethelred, put forward his claim to the throne, and there ensued a protracted warfare, Ethelwald being killed in 905.

In 906 Edward made peace, and began, with the aid of his sister, Ethelfleda (*Æthelflæd*), the "Lady of the Mercians," to construct fortresses against the Danes at Chester, Tamworth, Warwick, Hertford, and other places. These fortresses

D*

were mostly constructed of stone or brick, a great improvement on the old system of earthworks, and, doubtless largely owing to his progressive ideas, Edward often defeated the Danes. On the death of *Æthelflæd* in 918, Edward took possession of Mercia; "and all the folk there, as well Danish as English, submitted to him." In 922 "all the people in Essex, East Anglia, and the rest of Mercia, submitted to him," and in the same year the Welsh kings "sought him to lord." Lastly, in 924, "the King of the Scots, and the whole nation of the Scots, and all those who dwell in Northumbria, as well English as Danes, and Northmen, and others, and also the King of the Strathclyde Britons, and all the Strathclyde Britons, sought him to father and to lord." Edward had thus in some sort gained a supremacy over all Britain. Wessex, Kent and Sussex were his by inheritance, and Mercia, Essex and East Anglia by conquest from the Danes. Besides this, Northumbria, Scotland, Wales and Strathclyde did homage to him as overlord. Edward died in 925. He seems to have had three wives and a numerous family; three of his sons reigned after him. Edward the Elder

has been characterised as "one of the greatest rulers that England ever beheld. His whole reign bears out that he was fully his father's equal as a warrior and a ruler, and was inferior to him only in those literary labours which peculiarly distinguish Alfred among the princes of the age."

the tragedy having taken place at Corfe Castle, and the details of the crime, are only found in the later Chronicles. His title to "Martyr" is problematic, as his murder was more that of a family feud than dying for a cause.

A far more fit claimant to fame was Edward the Confessor. He was the

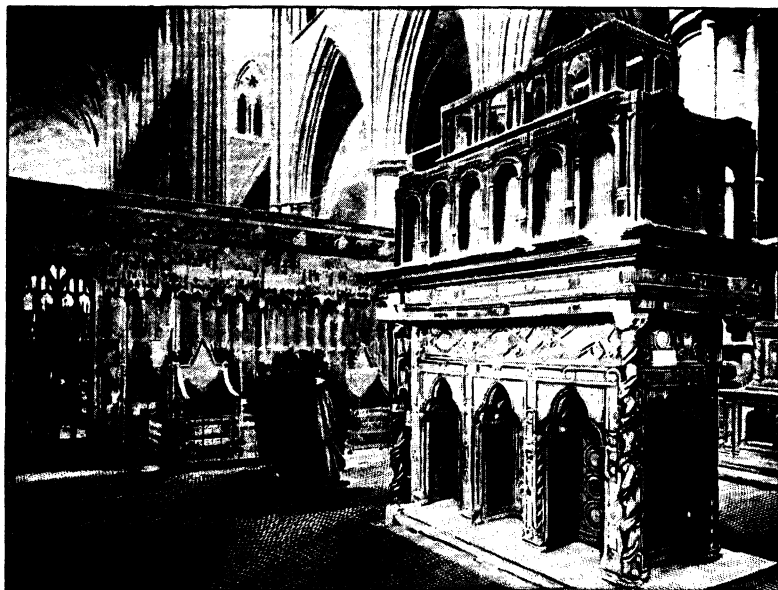


Photo: York & Son, Notting Hill.

CHAPEL AND SHRINE OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR—Westminster Abbey.

The next Edward, known as "the Martyr," was King from 975 to 979. He was the eldest son of Edgar, whom he succeeded at the age of thirteen. His short reign is unimportant. His accession seems to have led to a reaction against the monastic policy of Edgar, but little can with certainty be said as to this. He was treacherously murdered in 979, without doubt at the instigation of his step-mother, Ælfthryth, though the story of

younger son of Emma and Ethelred the Unready, and was born probably about 1004. Emma was the daughter of the great-grandfather of William the Conqueror. The early days of Edward and his brother Alfred were spent in Normandy, at the Court of their uncle, Richard the Good. It is uncertain whether Edward had any share in the invasion of England that led to Alfred's death in 1036; but Robert the Devil seems to have made at



CONVEYING THE BODY OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR TO WESTMINSTER.

(From the Drawing by W. Hatherell, R.I.)

least one effort for the restoration of his cousins a few years before this date. When Hardicanute (Harthacnut) succeeded his brother Harold, it was not long before he invited his half-brother Edward to return home, and thus be at hand to assume the throne should any misfortune happen to himself (1041). Accordingly, in the words of the Chronicle, on Hardicanute's death, in June, 1042, "all folk chose Edward, and received him for king." The coronation did not take place at Winchester till the next Easter.

Edward married Godwin's daughter Edith, and the power of the great earl's house was growing every day. At the time of Edward's accession there were four great earldoms, of which only one, Wessex, was in the hands of Godwin. But in 1043 Godwin's eldest son, Sweyn, received an earldom irregularly carved out of the western parts of Mercia and Wessex, including Hereford, Gloucester, Oxford, Berkshire and Somerset; about the same time his nephew, Beorn, received the earldom of the Middle Angles, and his second son, Harold, that of the East Angles (1045). But Edward could never forget the land of his early life, and was constantly bringing foreigners over to hold rule in England. It was by manipulating the Ecclesiastical appointments that Edward found his readiest way of placing the strangers in high office. In especial, a Norman monk, Robert of Jumièges, was nominated Bishop of London (1044), and some six years later Archbishop of Canterbury (1051); while another Norman, Ulf, was made Bishop of Dorchester (1049). But all the time these and many other Norman strangers were swarming into the land the house of Godwin was becoming more and more the centre of the national

party. In 1051 things came to a climax, and matters went in favour of Edward. In these circumstances, flight seemed the wisest course: Harold crossed over to Dublin, and Godwin to Flanders, whence they returned next year to drive out the Norman offenders with Archbishop Robert and Bishop Ulf at their head (1052). Next year, however, the great earl died. An important incident happened in 1062, when Gruffydd of Wales invaded England. But Harold and Tostig united their forces for the purpose of harrying his land; the English soldiers were bidden to adopt the arms and tactics of the Welsh, and before the year 1063 was out Gruffydd was dead, and his kingdom divided between two native princes, who swore fealty to Edward. In 1065 Northumberland rose in rebellion. Edward would have pushed matters to extremes, but Harold persuaded the Oxford gemot to confirm the wishes of the Northerners. This was the last important event in Edward the Confessor's reign. At the end of the year 1065 his great church of Westminster was consecrated, and on the 5th of January, 1066, the King died. Edward had no children. Pious, meditative, and given up to religious exercises, Edward, as it has been often said, was more fitted for a Norman cloister than the English throne. His virtues earned him popular respect; but he was deficient in practical vigour.

There is now a break of two centuries. England has become consolidated, and by the time the next Edward comes to the throne as Edward I. of England, in 1272, the country presented some aspect of unity. Born in 1239, he was the son of Henry III. At fifteen he married Eleanor of Castile, and soon afterwards his father gave him Gascony, Ireland,



EDWARD I.

Bristol, and the march between the Dee and the Conway, where he had early experience of Welsh warfare. He sided with his father at the time of the Parliament of Oxford, 1258, and was carefully watched by the barons. The party calling itself *Communitas bachelerie totius Angliæ*, which, in 1259, urged the baronial government to fulfil its promises, found a leader in Edward, who acted probably in concert with Earl Simon against the council formed at Oxford. This concert was soon broken, and Edward joined his father's side. In 1263 he seized the property of the Londoners deposited in the Temple, and seems to have been much hated throughout the kingdom. Nevertheless, the pacification of the country was due to his wisdom as much as to his energy. While he was active in reducing the strongholds of the Montfort party and in crushing freebooters, he successfully advocated a healing policy. In 1270 he went on the Crusade, and distinguished himself by his bravery. In 1272 he narrowly escaped assassination. That same year his father died, and Edward was at once acknowledged as King, being crowned in

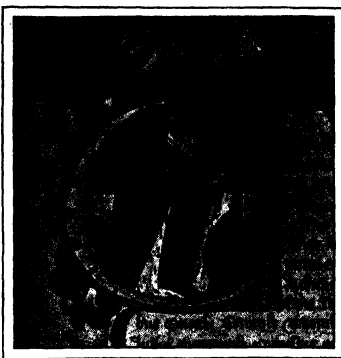
1274. Edward knew the needs of his people, and set himself to meet them by good laws. He worked not only for, but with, his people, and thus was led to give to all alike their share in the work. Like the late illustrious Edward VII., he was valiant and prudent, and, above all, faithful to his word. From his education he had imbibed French tastes and thoughts. They encouraged his love of power. The legal turn of his mind made him take advantage of subtleties which favoured his wishes; but what he had promised he fulfilled, at least to the letter, at any cost. His kingly pride, his love of order, perhaps, too, his love for his people, caused him to strive for the supremacy of England in this island. Edward at once began to amend the evils of the civil wars. In 1275 his first Parliament passed the First Statute of Westminster, reciting former good laws and usages; it also granted the King a payment for the export of wool and leather, thus creating the first legal origin of the customs. Want of money caused the issue of a writ compelling all who had £20 in land to be knighted, or pay a fine. This increased the body of knights, and tended to merge the smaller feudal tenants in the



SEAL OF EDWARD I.

great body of freeholders. Another blow was given to feudal distinctions by the Statute of Winchester. This statute reorganised the national force which had been constituted by the Assize of Arms of Henry II., and made it a means of keeping order. By the Statute of Wales, 1284, Edward endeavoured to introduce English law

and organisation into that country. The Welsh war added to the King's needs. The bulk of the revenue now came from taxes on personality and customs. Parliamentary assemblies of different kinds were often called to make grants, until, in 1295, Edward called an assembly of the three estates of the realm, which have from that time been



EDWARD I. CONFIRMING THE
CHARTER, March 3, 1300.
(MS. Claud D 11.)

held necessary parts of Parliament. On the failure of the heirs of William the Lion, Edward was called (1291) as overlord of Scotland, to settle the succession to the throne of that kingdom. He decided in favour of John de Baliol, and thenceforward allowed appeals to be made to his Court by the Scotch barons against Baliol.

This soon caused war, and in 1296 Edward conquered Scotland, deposed Baliol, and ruled the kingdom as his own. A constitutional crisis now occurred in England. Edward had made heavy demands on the wealth of the Church. The merchants were angry because the King heavily taxed and seized their wool; the earls disliked the whole policy of Edward, which lessened their power;



EDWARD THE LAW-MAKER.
(From Bracton's Law-Book.)



Photo : Chester Vaughan, Acton.
RHUDDLAN CASTLE, WHERE THE STATUTE OF WALES WAS PASSED.

all classes were united against the Royal authority. As a consequence he was forced to grant the Confirmation of the Charters by which he renounced taxation, direct and indirect, without the consent of the nation. This great concession is an epoch in our constitution. Edward loyally kept his word, and, by the Articles upon the Charters (1300), confirmed it afresh. Later, by agreement with the foreign

defeated by the Earl of Pembroke, but still remained unconquered. Edward marched northwards against him, and on his march, died at Burgh-by-Sands, in 1307, in his sixty-ninth year. "The perfection of the Parliamentary system, the organisation of the law courts, the great statutes which he caused to be made, and the general progress of the constitution mark the reign as of the first importance.



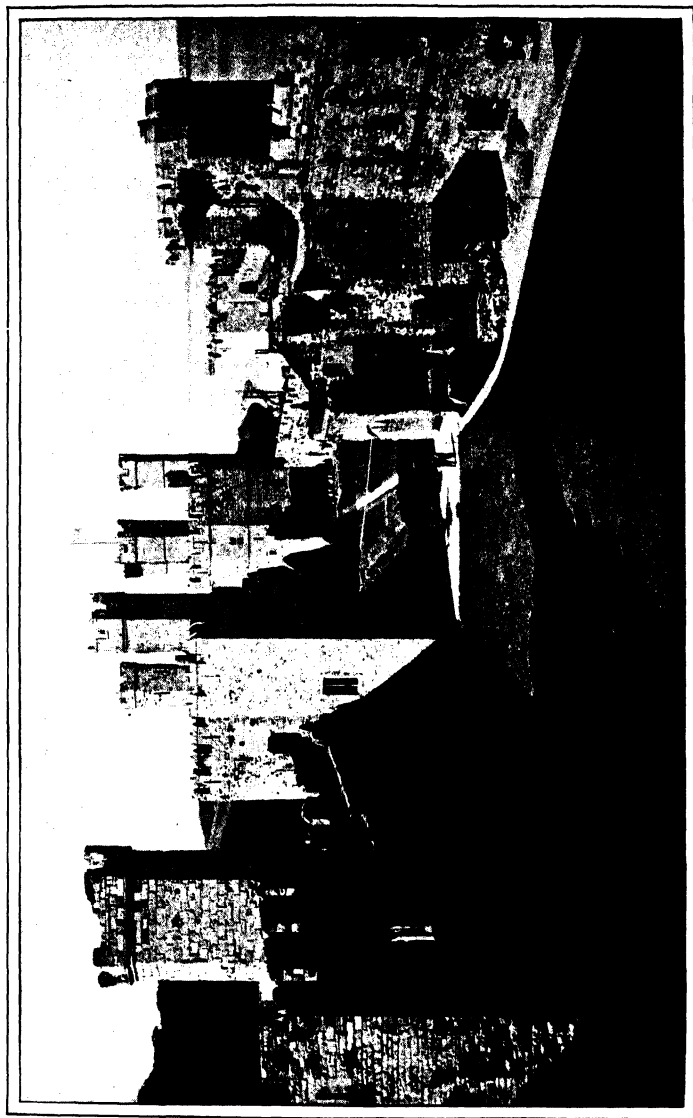
THE GATEWAY OF SCONE ABBEY.

merchants, Edward levied some new customs, which is the origin of our import duties.

In 1297 a revolt took place in the Lowlands of Scotland under William Wallace. In 1305 Wallace was taken and put to death. Edward now fully annexed Scotland, and designed that it should send representatives to the English Parliament. But in 1306 Robert Bruce, grandson of one of the claimants in 1291, who up to this time had adhered to Edward, revolted, killed the Regent, Comyn, and was crowned King at Scone. Bruce was

They were the fruit of the wisdom, the legal genius, the patriotism, and the good faith of the 'greatest of the Plantagenets,' as Edward I. has been justly styled."

The fourth son of Edward I. and Eleanor of Castile, by the death of his three elder brothers, became Heir to the Throne when an infant, succeeding, as Edward II., in 1307. He received the title of Prince of Wales in 1301. He was the first to bear the title. Its significant motto, *Ich Dien*, has been productive of more than one story. To fully appreciate the earliest of these, it should be remem-



CARNARVON CASTLE, THE BIRTHPLACE OF THE FIRST PRINCE OF WALES.
Photo: Chester Vaughan.



EDWARD II.

bered that Edward was born at Carnarvon Castle (April 25, 1284), where, so runs tradition, he was immediately presented by Edward I. to the Welsh chieftains as their future king. In doing so, the Sovereign held up the Royal babe in his arms, and said in Welsh, *Eich Dyn*, which means, in English: "This is your countryman and king." The generally-accepted derivation of the motto, however, is that accrediting it to the reign of the next Edward. His son, the renowned Black Prince, discovered the words *Ich Dien* engraved beneath the triple plume of feathers which graced the helmet of the slain King of Bohemia on the battlefield at Cressy, and adopted them. From that time

Ich Dien ("I serve") has been the motto of the heirs to the British Throne. In 1297 he was appointed regent in his father's absence, and in this capacity signed the *Confirmatio Cartarum*. In 1306 he was knighted, and accompanied his father on his expedition to Scotland, during which Edward I. died, having on his death-bed entreated his son to continue the war against the Scots. But the new King abandoned the Scotch expedition. In 1311, Edward II., who had ruled wretchedly, consented to certain "Ordinances," which practically put the Royal power into commission, and when, by the revolution, added power came into the hands of Thomas of Lancaster and his confederates, they appointed Ministers and settled the Royal revenue without consulting the King. The defeat at Bannockburn in 1314 destroyed what little influence Edward possessed, and Lancaster became supreme till 1321, when his high-handed conduct alienated many of the barons

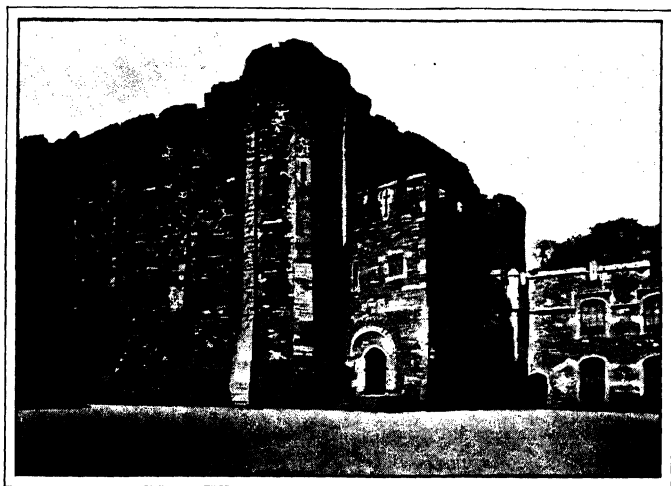


Photo: Graphotone Co.
BERKELEY CASTLE, IN WHICH EDWARD II. WAS MURDERED.

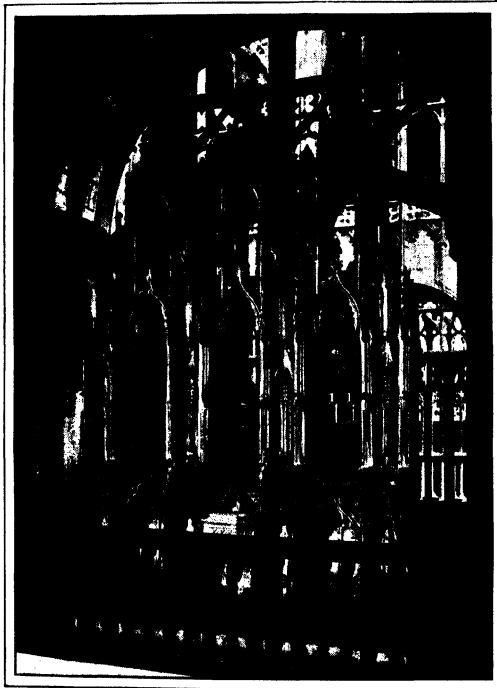
from him, so that in 1322 the King was able to defeat him. Lancaster was at once beheaded, the Ordinances of 1311 were repealed, and the baronial party for the time crushed. In the latter part of the reign the Queen was intrigued with Roger Mortimer, now the leader of the barons, against her husband. She had been sent over to France to arrange a dispute between her husband and her brother, and being followed by Mortimer and others, she collected troops, and landed in England, where she was joined by many of the barons. The King was taken prisoner, and shortly afterwards compelled to abdicate. The fate of Edward is considered doubtful, though it



EDWARD III.

is generally accepted that he was secretly murdered in Berkeley Castle on the 21st of September, 1327. In character, Edward II. was devoid of self-control, firmness, and dignity, and spent his time in the society of favourites and parasites.

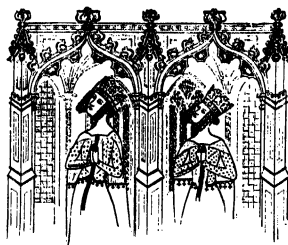
Under the compulsion of the Queen and her party Edward II. had resigned the crown in favour of his son, the Duke of Aquitaine, who thus became Edward III. The belief that his father had been murdered led to a strong reaction in the Monarch's favour; and to this Edward III., under the influence of remorse or religious sentiment, caused fitting expression to be given in the noble and beautiful monument in the Benedictine Church of St. Peter, Gloucester, where the remains of the murdered Sovereign were buried in all kingly state. The tomb was for generations a popular shrine, worn by the kisses and bedewed by the tears of sympathisers. One of the earliest



TOMB OF EDWARD II., GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

acts of Edward III., while still under the domination of Isabella and Mortimer, was to make the treaty with the Scots which became known as the "Shameful Peace," though in reality it was little more than a recognition of the indisputable strength of Bruce. Mean-

while, Edward had married Philippa of Hainault, and thus contributed to peace with France; and in 1830, when a son was born to the young parents—Edward was then but seventeen—he allied himself with Lancaster to obtain release from maternal thralldom. That child was to become the famous Black Prince. A plot was concocted to seize Mortimer in Nottingham Castle, where the Queen and the Earl and the Sovereign had assembled for the convocation of a Parliament. The Constable was won over by the conspirators, whose chief instrument was Sir William Montague, a confidant of Edward, and on the night of the 19th of October, 1330, Mortimer's chamber was forcibly entered by an armed band from without the Castle, and Mortimer seized and conveyed to the Tower. From thence he was dragged to Tyburn and



THE WIFE AND DAUGHTER
OF EDWARD III.
(National Portrait Gallery.)

hanged as a common malefactor, amid the execrations of the mob. Edward III., meanwhile, had taken the reins of government into his own hands, and he soon proved himself the possessor of uncommon qualities. "Edward III.," says Professor T. F. Tout in the third volume of

"The Political History of England," "had just entered upon his nineteenth year when he became King in fact as well as in name. In person he was not unworthy of his father and grandfather. Less strikingly tall than they, he was nobly built and finely proportioned. In full manhood, long hair, a thick moustache, and flowing beard adorned his regular and handsome countenance. His graciousness and affability were universally praised. His face shone, we are told, like the face of a god, so that to see him or to dream of him was to conjure up joyous images. He delighted in the pomp of his office,

wore magnificent garments, and played his kingly part with the same majesty and dignity as his grandfather." He was well educated, a patron of architecture to whom the nation owes the Castle and Chapel at Windsor, a



KNIGHTS AT POITIERS.

master of all knightly arts, and a lover of the chase. His prodigality, his affable temper, his courage and high spirits, make him one of the most fascinating figures in the drama of mediæval England. "Never," wrote Froissart, "had there been such a King since the days of Arthur." The story of the reign, which lasted until 1377, is the most glorious in our annals as a young nation, for it includes Crécy and Poitiers,

integration of the feudal system. It saw, also, the rise of Wycliffe and the commencement of those religious and ecclesiastical differences which were to have so fateful an effect in later centuries, and to last even to our own day. The reign was splendid in war, in architecture, in literature, in religion; but it was a surface splendour which concealed much that was ugly and diseased. King



A PORTION OF WYCLIFFE'S EARLIER ENGLISH BIBLE.

Sluys and the beginnings of our maritime supremacy, and the peace with Scotland. But the glory was of war and conquest, in which the energies of the English people were spent in the futile struggle for the sovereignty of France, rather than in self-development. It was the period of the Black Death, which combined with the loss of life on French soil during the hundred years' war, swept away the population in such large numbers as to bring to pass a profound economic change and the dis-

Edward's personality stands out in the records of the time with a distinctness that has given him immortality. He died at Sheen, pushed aside by the Court in his old age and the extremity of his weakness, and with no other companion than a mistress, who robbed him of the rings on his hand and fled from him.

The death of the Black Prince before his father broke the continuity of the Edwards, and nearly a century passed before another sat on the throne. Into the civil wars of the fifteenth century this

is no place to enter. It is enough to say that the issue was decided after the battle of St. Albans in 1461 in favour of Edward, the eldest son of the Duke of York who fell at the battle of Wake-

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experience of war and its vicissitudes.

"He was bold, active, enterprising," writes Hume; "and his hardness of heart and severity of character rendered him impregnable to all those movements of compassion which might relax his vigour in the prosecution of the most bloody revenges upon his enemies." In the early years of his reign "the scaffold as well as the field streamed incessantly with the noblest blood of England." In the "Wars of the Roses"—the white rose the symbol of the House of York, the red that of Lancaster—Edward by his terrible energy and



THE BATTLE OF TEWKESBURY.

(From a MS. in the University Library, Ghent.)

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relentless severity eventually gained the mastery. An Act of forfeiture and attainder was passed against Henry VI., Queen Margaret, and her infant son Edward. The Queen and the child escaped to the Continent. Henry was seized and thrown into the Tower.

Edward's fortunes, however, suffered a temporary eclipse at the hands of Warwick, and he himself was compelled to flee the kingdom. Margaret returned, Henry VI. was replaced on the throne, the Lancastrians were once more in the ascendant. With the assistance of his brother-in-law, Duke Charles of Burgundy, Edward returned to England and raised his standard in the city of York, making his way thence to London. Warwick was slain at Barnet on the 14th of April, 1471, and the disaster to the Lancastrians was completed by the overthrow of Queen Margaret and her son's partisans at Tewkesbury on the 4th of May. The Queen and the Prince were taken prisoners and brought into Edward's presence. The King, says Hume, "after an insulting manner," asked the youth how he dared to invade his dominions. "The young Prince, more mindful of his high birth than his present fortunes, replied that he came thither to claim his just inheritance. The ungenerous Edward, insensible to pity, struck him on the face with his gauntlet; and the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, Lord Hastings, and Sir Thomas Gray, taking the blow as a signal for further violence, hurried the Prince into the next apartment and there de-



EDWARD IV.

spatched him with the daggers." King Henry died in confinement, not improbably by violence a few days after the battle of Tewkesbury and Margaret was sent to the Tower, from which she was released in obedience to one of the conditions of a treaty of peace with the King of France in 1475. She lived in quietude until 1482, her fierce and in-

domitable spirit unbroken by the turmoil and tragedies of her life. Edward's many tyrannies culminated in accusation against his brother, the Duke of Clarence, to whom, on the passing of sentence by a compliant tribunal, before which he appeared as a witness for the prosecution on a series of trumped-up charges, he gave the choice of death. The Duke elected to be drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine and thus his life ended in the Tower. Four years later King Edward died, un-

gretted, in his forty-second year, while making preparations for another war with France—those interminable wars for the French Crown which were among the disadvantages that attended the invasion of William the Conqueror and the overthrow of Anglo-Saxon civilisation. He was "a Prince more splendid and showy than prudent or virtuous," says the sententious Hume; "brave, though cruel;



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EDWARD V.

addicted to pleasure, though capable of activity in great emergencies ; and less fitted to prevent ills by wise precautions than to remedy them after they took place by his vigour and enterprise."

Edward Prince of Wales, then in his thirteenth year, and Richard Duke of York, his brother, then in his ninth year, were murdered in 1483 in the Tower, at the instigation of the infamous Duke of Gloucester, their uncle and brother of the late King. Edward V., therefore, makes but a transient figure in the story of the Edwards, but one of infinite pathos, which Shakespeare has drawn in imperishable language. The childhood of the new Sovereign incited the Duke to the foulest treachery and the blackest crime. To his ambition to seize the throne for himself the lives of the two lads were an insurmountable obstacle. The Princes were lodged in the Tower, the Protector having assumed the sovereignty and the title of Richard III. The usurper ordered Sir Robert Brakenbury, Constable of the Tower, to put them to death. To his eternal honour, he refused. But instruments were not lacking in that violent and brutal age for so odious a crime, and the infamy was entrusted by the King to Sir James Tyrrell, to whom Brakenbury was obliged to resign the keys of his office for one night. With three ruffians—Slater, Dighton, and Forest—Tyrrell proceeded to the chamber where the young prisoners were sleeping. He remained without. The others entered and suffocated the sleeping Princes with the bedclothes and pillows. When all was over Tyrrell saw the naked bodies, and having satisfied himself that life was extinct, ordered them to be buried at the foot of the stairs under a heap of

stones. The bones of these Royal youths, says Hepworth Dixon in his fascinating volumes on the Tower of London, were afterwards dug out from behind a stair in the Keep below the room in which the Princes were lodged. A quotation from Hepworth Dixon's story of the deed and handling of the evidence which disposes of the doubts that were spread about its actual accomplishment, will appropriately round off these references to the tragic lot of Edward V. :—

"Stealing downstairs, the murderers called their master, who stood watching near the gate, to come up and see that the boys were dead. Tyrrell crept up by the private door ; and after giving a few orders to his agents and calling the Tower priest to their help, he rode away from the scene and from London, bearing the dread news to his master, who was still going north towards York.

"The murderers, helped, it would seem, by the priest, got the bodies downstairs into the gateway, dug a hole near the wall, and threw in the dead and covered them over with earth and stones. But the new King, whose crimes made him superstitious, sent orders that the priest should bestow his nephews in some more decent place. The priest obeyed, but no one knew (unless it were the King) where he now laid them, and as he died soon after, the secret of the sepulture passed from the knowledge of living men.

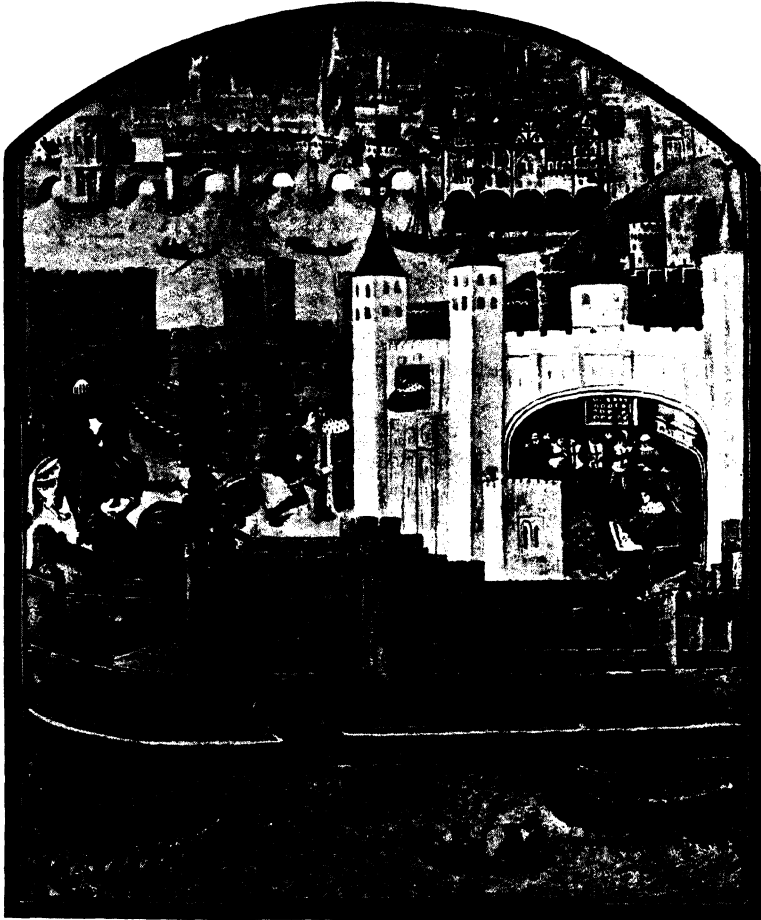
"After the battle of Bosworth and the fall of Richard, the new King had no reason to conceal the grave, and after the rising of Perkin Warbeck it became a pressing duty for him to find it and make it known. He could not. Forest was dead ; the priest was dead ; Tyrrell

and Dighton [Hepworth Dixon makes no mention of Slater], though living and eager to confess their crime, covering themselves with a Royal pardon, could not help King Henry to prove, by the very best evidence—their bones—that the Princes were not alive. Richard had sent orders for the priest to remove them; that was all they knew; and every apprentice

boy in London knew as much. The fact of a first burial, and then a second, is stated in the writings ascribed to More, and is mentioned in Shakespeare's play:—

The Chaplain of the Tower hath buried them;
But where, to say the truth, I do not know.

As the priest would be likely to inter the Princes in consecrated ground, search



THE TOWER OF LONDON AT THE PERIOD THE PRINCES WERE MURDERED.
E*

was made, not only in the open graveyard near St. Petrus ad Vincula, but within the Church. To find these relics would have been to render a signal service to King Henry. No effort was spared ; but Fate was against the search ; and as the bodies could not be found the most cunning princes of Europe affected to believe that Perkin Warbeck the Pretender was King Edward's son.

"Two hundred years after the deed was done the mystery was cleared. In the reign of Charles II., when the Keep (no longer used as a Royal palace) was being filled with State papers, some workmen, in making a new staircase into the Royal Chapel, found under the old stone steps, hidden close away and covered with earth, the bones of two boys, which answered in every way to those which had been sought so long. Deep public wonder was excited ; full inquiry into all the facts was made ; and a report being sent to Charles that these bones were those of the murdered Princes, the King gave orders for their removal to a Royal sepulchre in Westminster Abbey. The bones thus found now lie in the great chapel built by Henry VII., side by side with some of the most eminent of English kings."

The next Edward, the sixth of that name, was the son of Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour, and succeeded to the throne at the age of nine, in 1547. He died in his sixteenth year. Ill health and extreme youth combined to leave affairs

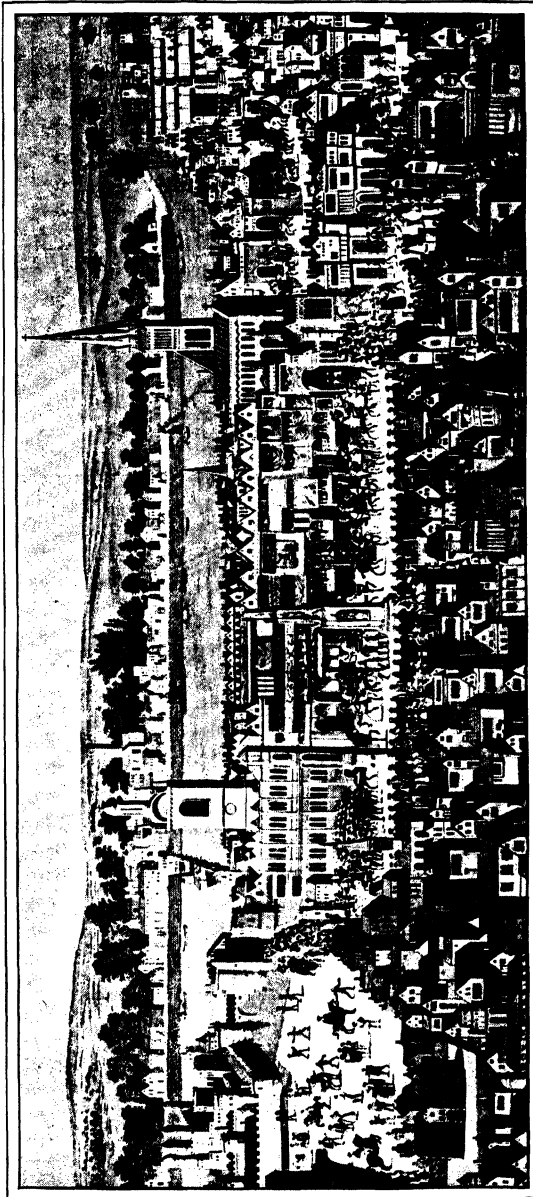
of State in the hands of his councillors. "All the English historians," says Hume, "dwell with pleasure on the excellent qualities of this young Prince ; whom the flattering promises of hope, joined to many real virtues, had made an object of tender affection to the public. He possessed mildness of disposition, application to study and business, a capacity to learn and judge, and an attachment to equity and justice. He seems only to have contracted, from his education and

from the genius of the age in which he lived, too much of a narrow prepossession in matters of religion, which made him incline somewhat to bigotry and persecution, but . . . the effects of this malignant quality were the less to be apprehended if a longer life had been granted to young Edward." His picture, painted under the influence of Holbein, hangs in the National Gallery



EDWARD VI.

in London—a pleasing presentment of a frail but intellectual looking youth. He is chiefly associated in the English mind with the so-called Edward VI. schools, which are supposed to be proof of his love of learning and zeal that it should be extended to the people. But this view has been modified by historians who have not trusted to the eulogies of courtiers, and it would appear that the title of many of these institutions to bear his name is not well founded. They were old foundations of chantries or hospitals which, thanks to the influence of Cranmer, survived the con-



CORONATION PROCESSION OF EDWARD VI.
THROUGH CHEAPSIDE.

(From a print of the fresco, temp. 1530, destroyed with Cochrane House in 1793.)

was made, not only in the open graveyard near St. Petrus ad Vincula, but within the Church. To find these relics would have been to render a signal service to King Henry. No effort was spared ; but Fate was against the search ; and as the bodies could not be found the most cunning princes of Europe affected to believe that Perkin Warbeck the Pretender was King Edward's son.

"Two hundred years after the deed was done the mystery was cleared. In the reign of Charles II., when the Keep (no longer used as a Royal palace) was being filled with State papers, some workmen, in making a new staircase into the Royal Chapel, found under the old stone steps, hidden close away and covered with earth, the bones of two boys, which answered in every way to those which had been sought so long. Deep public wonder was excited ; full inquiry into all the facts was made ; and a report being sent to Charles that these bones were those of the murdered Princes, the King gave orders for their removal to a Royal sepulchre in Westminster Abbey. The bones thus found now lie in the great chapel built by Henry VII., side by side with some of the most eminent of English kings."

The next Edward, the sixth of that name, was the son of Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour, and succeeded to the throne at the age of nine, in 1547. He died in his sixteenth year. Ill health and extreme youth combined to leave affairs

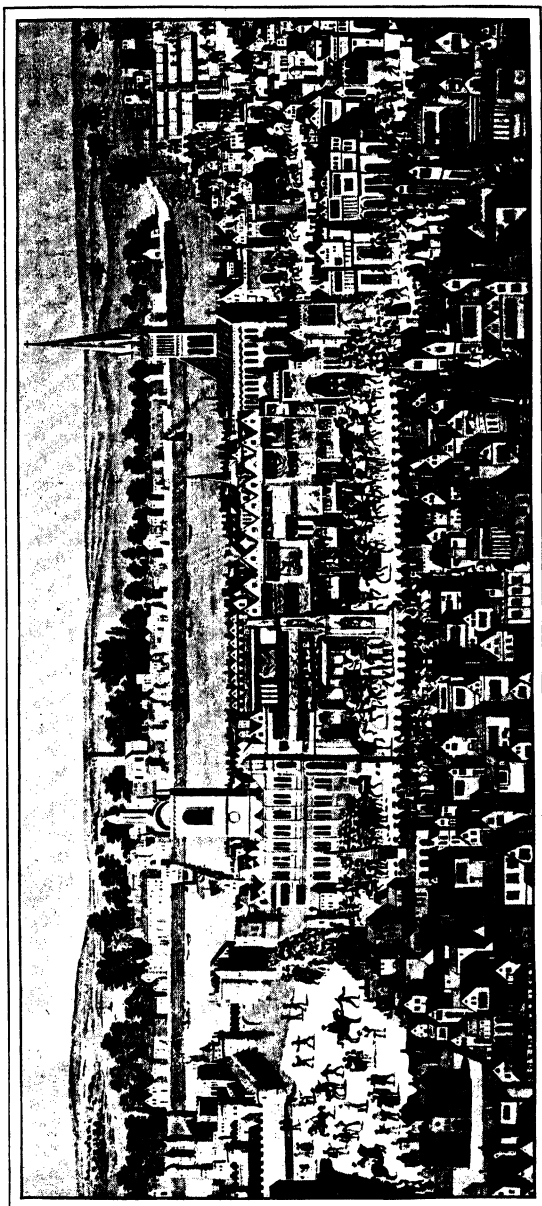
of State in the hands of his councillors. "All the English historians," says Hume, "dwell with pleasure on the excellent qualities of this young Prince ; whom the flattering promises of hope, joined to many real virtues, had made an object of tender affection to the public. He possessed mildness of disposition, application to study and business, a capacity to learn and judge, and an attachment to equity and justice. He seems only to have contracted, from his education and



EDWARD VI.

from the genius of the age in which he lived, too much of a narrow prepossession in matters of religion, which made him incline somewhat to bigotry and persecution, but . . . the effects of this malignant quality were the less to be apprehended if a longer life had been granted to young Edward." His picture, painted under the influence of Holbein, hangs in the National Gallery

in London—a pleasing presentment of a frail but intellectual looking youth. He is chiefly associated in the English mind with the so-called Edward VI. schools, which are supposed to be proof of his love of learning and zeal that it should be extended to the people. But this view has been modified by historians who have not trusted to the eulogies of courtiers, and it would appear that the title of many of these institutions to bear his name is not well founded. They were old foundations of chantries or hospitals which, thanks to the influence of Cranmer, survived the con-



CORONATION PROCESSION OF EDWARD VI.
THROUGH CHEATPSIDE.

(From a print of the fresco, temp. 1550, destroyed with Cowdray House in 1793.)

fiscations of Church property in the reign of Henry VIII. The attachment of King Edward VI.'s name to them was a courtier-like compliment.

These, then, were the Edwardian predecessors of the Seventh Edward. A brief review of their lives will have been worth giving if it suggests to the reader the immensity of the difference between their Age and that of Edward VII. The three centuries that intervene between the death of Edward VI. and the birth of Edward VII. were

centuries of tremendous change, altering the relationship of the Sovereign to the nation, and fundamentally restricting his personal activities in affairs of State. The feudal Edwards both reigned and governed; the Sovereigns of our own time in England reign, but do not rule. An appreciation of that maxim of the constitutionalists will enable the reader to measure the gulf which separates the Sixth Edward from the Seventh, and to bridge it in imagination.



CRANMER SIGNING THE LAST TESTAMENT OF EDWARD VI.

CHAPTER IV

BOYHOOD AND COLLEGE DAYS OF EDWARD THE SEVENTH

His Education Considered—A Complex Problem—Baron Stockmar and others Advise—Advent of Mr. Birch—A Thoroughly English Education—Religious Training—A Family Likeness—The Prince is Confirmed—Charles Kingsley's Influence—Studies at Edinburgh—The Boiling Lead Incident—Albert Edward as a Reader of Romance—Studies at Oxford—"A Prince at High Pressure"—Feats of Horsemanship—"A Capital King, my Lord"—Cambridge Days—"Out of Bounds" and its Sequel.

IN the nursery and in the hands of his governesses, the boy who was to become Edward VII. mastered the rudiments of education, learning to read and write and express himself with facility in English, German, and French—with so much facility, indeed, in German, which was the everyday language of the home circle while the Prince Consort lived, that he never wholly lost a slight German accent, which fell on the ears of those who heard him on public occasions in later life as a sharp but not disagreeable reminder of the Teutonic origin of the dynasty. And in the daily companionship of his illustrious parents, he learned also the natural simplicity and charming manners which were to distinguish him throughout life. Wherever a mention of him can be traced during these early years, it is that of a lively and lovable little boy, full of fun and laughter, readily amenable to guidance and discipline, and of even and sunny disposition. If he was ever a naughty boy—and he would have been superhuman had he never transgressed—the evidences of it were suppressed. No sound of punishment, no cry of pain and protest, was ever heard. One never hears of the Prince in a temper or in

tears; he is invariably presented to the mind's eye as a frolicsome, blue-eyed child with tumbling curls of light brown hair, who always behaved with delightful correctness whether in public or in private. Probably the very discreet people about him could have told another story if they had chosen; but they did not choose. On the whole, the impression conveyed by the allusions to the Prince in the Queen's letters during his childhood is that, though he possessed a distinctive personality, he had a character malleable and readily susceptible to the influence of others. As he approached the age of seven the question of his education began to be anxiously considered by his parents; and not by them alone, for a member of the public thought so much of the subject that he wrote a pamphlet upon it: "Who Shall Educate the Prince of Wales?" It was sent to the Queen, and it was reported that it was read by her with the serious attention which the topic deserved. The matter seems to have been one of extraordinary complexity to the Royal parents.

Familiar as they were daily with the consideration and decision of affairs of State directly affecting the welfare of the millions of their own subjects and

relations with other Powers, it might have been thought that they needed no assistance in selecting a tutor for a child of seven. But they treated this as a national rather than merely a personal and domestic question, and took as much counsel upon it as if it embraced momentous issues of high policy. Baron Stockmar was, of course, consulted; and the thoughtful, conscientious, painstaking German adviser of the parents applied his mind to the problem with the same zeal which he brought to bear on international politics. Nothing was too great, nothing affecting the happiness of the Royal household was too small, for the exercise of his intellect at the call of his illustrious friends; and this he regarded as a great rather than a small matter, for he produced a Memorandum—and he was an adept in that kind of mental effort—which was long and profound, and full of sage counsel. It was an essay on the tuition and upbringing of Princes. The essence of it was that all education should be truly moral, and that of the Prince thoroughly English. It sounds commonplace enough; no new thing could be thought and written on the principles of education even by Baron Stockmar. Hosts of writers in all ages of the world had thought and said all that the human intellect could evolve

out of the theme. But the note that the education of the Prince should be English was sound polity and characteristic of the statesman that lay latent in the confidant. The vision of Baron Stockmar was sharp enough to see that one cause of the indifference of English feeling towards Royalty until Queen Victoria came to the throne and won the hearts

of her people, was in the fact that it had taken a century to anglicise the Hanoverians, and that the process was only imperfectly completed in William IV. He was fully aware of the prejudice which the English people had at first entertained towards the Prince Consort as the scion of a German House of no commanding importance, and of the jealousy aroused by the Prince's position and influence in the secret counsels of the Court, strive as he



BARON STOCKMAR.

(By permission, from Sir Theodore Martin's "Life of the Prince Consort.")

might to keep himself in the background and to perform his duties with the most scrupulous care and delicacy. The Baron foresaw that it would be immensely to the advantage of the monarchy that the future Sovereign should be wholly English in education and tastes and temperament, and should be regarded by the democracy as being English to the very core of his intellectual being. For, as we shall have reason to show later on, the proletariat had begun

to think rather audaciously about the cost and utility of reigning Houses ; and there were not a few shrewd observers of the time, taking a sweeping view of political tendencies, who doubted the stability of the Throne of England itself, especially when throne after throne on the Continent was saved only by concessions to popular demands, emphasised by insurrection. Certain is it that it was wise of the Baron to insist that the education of the Prince should be such as would make him an Englishman above all things, and a good and moral Englishman to boot.

Implicitly as the Prince Consort and the Queen trusted their adviser, they did not consult him alone, but called to their aid also Dr. Wilberforce, the silver-tongued Bishop of Oxford, about whose sermons and the charm of their delivery the Queen had written with enthusiasm in earlier years to Lord Melbourne. He was now on an intimate footing at the Court. The ideas of Sir James Clark, the Queen's favourite physician, were also solicited. These eminent persons could add nothing to the wisdom of Stockmar, and the Queen and Prince Consort were thus

furnished with two principles of education which they had no doubt already enunciated for themselves. Upon whom should fall the task of applying them to the Prince's mind ? This was a question which greatly concerned the parents, and the Queen seems to have written to

Lord Melbourne about it. " Lord Melbourne earnestly hopes," ran the reply, " that your Majesty and the Prince may be successful in training and instructing the young Prince of Wales, and to make him understand correctly his real position and its duties, and to enable him to withstand the temptations and seductions with which he will find himself beset when he approaches the age of twenty-one. . . . Your Majesty was not very long in the situation of an



Photo: Maull & Fox.

BISHOP SAMUEL WILBERFORCE.

acknowledged, admitted, and certain Heir Apparent, but still long enough to be aware of the use which those around you were inclined to make of that situation, and of the petitions and applications which it naturally produced from others, and therefore to have an idea of the difficulties of it. Lord Melbourne heartily wishes your Majesty every success in the interesting and important task on

which you are engaged, of forming the character and disposition of the young Prince."

The duties were eventually accepted by Mr. Henry Birch, an assistant-master at Eton, where he had been educated, and to which he had returned after a brilliant career at Cambridge University. He was in Holy Orders; and to his scholastic distinctions and gifts and experience in the instruction of youth there was allied a character without blemish, and all the other qualities needed for the work. Upon the Prince Consort, as upon all others, he made an excellent impression. "Bertie will be given over in a few weeks' time," wrote the Prince to the Duchess of Coburg, "into the hands of a tutor whom we have found in a Mr. Birch—a young, good-looking, amiable man. . . . It is an important step, and God's blessing be upon it, for upon the good education of Princes, and especially of those who are destined to govern, the welfare of the world in these days greatly depends." What Prince could think otherwise? Naturally, it was the Prince Consort rather than the Queen who decided the lines on which the young Prince's education should proceed, and settled the details with Mr. Birch. Just as the governess appointed in the nursery days had been personally responsible to the Queen and not to the nation, chosen exclusively by her and under her control, so Mr. Birch was under a personal responsibility to the Prince Consort when the young Prince was separated for educational purposes from the younger children. Her Majesty had settled that principle of freedom from outside influence in the education of her family when the first

governess was chosen. "I feel that she ought to be responsible to *us*, and *we* to the country and the nation" for the upbringing of the children. Says the writer of the "Life and Times of Queen Victoria":—

"It was in pursuance of this idea that her Majesty made great sacrifices to keep her children as closely as possible in contact with her. Many curious memoranda from her pen exist, and through them all there runs the same thought—simplicity and domesticity must be the leading characteristics of the training of the Royal Family. For example, whenever it was possible, the Queen insisted on retaining in her own hands the *religious* education of her family, and it is now known that she did this from a dread lest their minds might at the most plastic period of life receive a sectarian bias. High Anglicanism was then militant, and many intrigues were set on foot by its professors to effect a lodgment in the Palace. The education of the Princess Royal, afterwards Empress Frederick of Germany, was almost entirely supervised and directed by the Queen herself, and with results much appreciated in Germany, where, through her tact, culture, high character, and strong common sense, Her Imperial Majesty won for herself a position of unique political and social influence. The education of the Prince of Wales, however, now came more directly under the hands of Prince Albert; and one point of the highest importance to decide was whether it should be conservative or liberal in its character. Prince Albert decided that it must be liberal in this sense, that it should prepare the Heir Apparent for taking his position in a changeful state

of society, whose institutions were, to a great extent, in a transition stage. Every effort was to be made to prevent him from getting into his mind a notion that existing institutions were *sacrosanct*, and that resistance to all change was a sacred and patriotic duty. The history of George III. had evidently not been studied in vain. 'The proper duty of Sovereigns in this country,' wrote Stockmar to Prince Albert, 'is not to take the lead in change, but to act as a balance-wheel on the movements of the social body.'

Above all—as already recommended by Baron Stockmar—it was determined that the education of the young Prince must be at bottom English, and not foreign. Furnished with these principles to guide him, and with general instructions to make the basis of the young Prince's training as broad and comprehensive as possible—to make it scientific as well as classical—Mr. Birch essayed his arduous task, aided not a little by shrewd advice from Bishop Wilberforce and Sir James Clark."

It was during the summer of 1849 that



ALBERT EDWARD TAKING EXERCISE.

Mr. Birch commenced his duties, which he continued until 1852, instilling, we may be sure, into the Prince's mind all the solid knowledge which a boy is incapable of resisting at this formative period. Mr. Birch was succeeded, on his retirement to take up a living, by Mr. Frederick W. Gibbs, who continued the work for seven years. At the time the Prince was committed to the care of Mr. Birch he was within a few months of his eighth birthday, and a strong attachment was formed for the

tutor, whose retirement was one of the acute sorrows of boyhood. "A terrible sorrow to the Prince of Wales!" wrote Viscountess Canning. "He is such an affectionate, dear little boy; his little notes and presents, which Mr. Birch used to find on his pillow, were really too moving." "A yellow-haired laddie, very like his mother," wrote Miss Alcot about this time, on seeing him in London. "Fanny, W., and I nodded and waved as he passed, and he openly winked his boyish eye at us, for Fanny with her yellow curls and wild waving

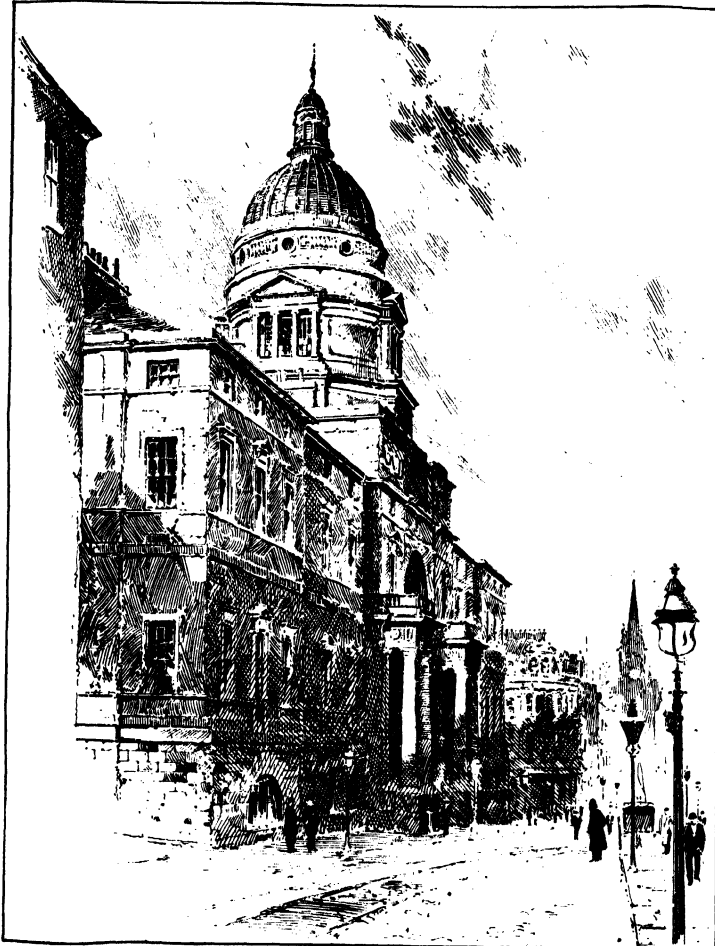
looked rather rowdy, and the poor little Prince wanted some fun." But Miss Alcot must surely have misunderstood the motion of the eyelid. Little boy princes do not wink. If Bertie was guilty of that lapse from convention he certainly did not learn to wink from Mr. Birch. The photograph of that gentleman shows a countenance of benignant serenity. He, at any rate, could not have known how to wink. Perhaps the young Prince had been initiated into this most reprehensible practice by observation of the Palace footmen and nursery maids. Anyway, here it is on record that at about the age of eight his education was so far advanced that when he saw a little American girl with yellow curls wildly waving at him he "openly winked." Miss Alcot must be responsible for that contribution to his history. On the point of her detection of a marked likeness of the Prince to his mother it is interesting to notice that the Queen herself thought the lad very like his father. "He [Stockmar] also is struck with Albert junior's likeness to his dearest papa, which everybody is struck with," she tells the King of the Belgians in one of her letters. Unquestionably the likeness to the father increased as boyhood advanced.

To revert to the Prince's education. For special subjects there were special tutors. Thus, for drawing the Prince Consort selected Mr. Corbould—a choice he was peculiarly well fitted to make, for he was himself, as was also the Queen, highly skilful in the use of the pencil, besides being no mean etcher. French was taught by M. Brasseur; and the Prince early learned to speak that tongue with an idiomatic grace and purity of accent which helped not a

little in after days to make the Parisians idolise him and regard him not as an English visitor, but as one of themselves. After Mr. Gibbs's retirement in 1858, the continuation of the Prince's studies was committed to Canon Tarver, who was made "Director of Studies and Chaplain." In this year, by the way, the Prince was confirmed by the Archbishop of Canterbury—the date the 1st of April. "They were all three—Lord Palmerston, Lord Russell, and Lord Derby—at the Confirmation," wrote the Prince Consort from Windsor, where the ceremony took place. It "went off with great solemnity, and, I hope, with an abiding impression on his mind. The previous day his examination took place before the Archbishop and ourselves. Wellesley prolonged it to a full hour, and Bertie acquitted himself extremely well." And the Queen wrote in the same strain to her uncle Leopold. The letter is included among those published by authority of King Edward. "I am sure you will kindly be interested in knowing that the examination and confirmation of Bertie have gone off extremely well. Everything was conducted as at Vicky's, and I thought *much* of you, and wished we could have had the happiness of having you there. I enclose a programme. The examination before the Archbishop and ourselves by the Dean on Wednesday was long and difficult, but Bertie answered extremely well, and his whole manner and *Gemüths-stimmung* yesterday, and again to-day at the Sacrament, to which we took him, was gentle, good, and proper." We all know from the "Life of the Prince Consort" the deeply reverential spirit in which the parents approached the profoundest of all the

mysteries of religion. The religious and moral education of the Prince was the father's special province, and he devoted to it a conscientious care and an amount of time and attention few parents expend on such a purpose, and fewer still are capable of expending, either by the

intensity and sincerity of their own conviction or by the elevation of their personal life and character. The Prince was, indeed, fortunate in having at his side in the impressionable years of youth parents so wisely solicitous for his spiritual awakening and culture, and a father so



EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY.

Photo: A. Inglis, Edinburgh.

competent to arouse his ideals, not alone by instruction founded on knowledge and high thinking, but also by the blamelessness of his life and conduct. If we emphasise this aspect of the Prince's education at what some readers in an era of laxity and indifference may think an undue length, it is because no thoughtful man or woman can dispute that the rite of Confirmation must have meant to the youth the opening of a new era of experience, an expansion of the mental horizon, a realisation more or less definite of an intimate relationship between the human life and the Divine—a realisation certain to have deep and lasting effect upon the development of character.

As boyhood passed into youth and youth to early manhood, the Prince's general studies were broadened and deepened. Charles Kingsley, than whom no man of his day knew better how to clothe the dry facts of history with thought and emotion, and present them in brilliant language, delivered a series of lectures to the Prince on the history of Europe at the special desire of the Queen and the Prince Consort. As part of the plan of wider education, the Prince was sent to Edinburgh with Dr. Lyon Playfair, man of science, educationist, and administrator, whose extraordinary knowledge in many departments of life made him one of the notable figures of the nineteenth century, and in 1892—six years before his death—earned him a baronetcy, and finally a peerage. The Prince's work in the northern capital was well summarised by the Prince Consort in a letter to Baron Stockmar: "In Edinburgh I had an educational conference with all the persons who are taking part in the education of the Prince of Wales. They all speak highly of him,

and he seems to have shown zeal and goodwill. Dr. Lyon Playfair is giving him lectures on chemistry in relation to manufactures, and at the close of each special course he visits the appropriate manufactory with him, so as to explain its practical application. Dr. Schmitz (the Director of the High School of Edinburgh, a German) gives him lectures on Roman history. Italian, German, and French are advanced at the same time; and three times a week the Prince exercises with the 16th Hussars, who are stationed in the city. Mr. Fisher, who is to be the tutor for Oxford, was also in Holyrood. Law and history are to be the subjects on which he is to prepare the Prince." Of the lectures on "chemistry in relation to manufactures"—a not unnecessary subject for one who was to be Sovereign of a population which lives by the application of science to industry—there is a familiar anecdote which is well retold by Mr. Charles Lowe. When the Prince went to study at Edinburgh—sitting on the same bench with the sons of Scottish peers and peasants—Professor (afterwards Lord) Playfair, of the chemistry chair, wished to explain the immunity of the Algerian conjurers who apply hot irons to their bodies, which could be done if the metal was raised to a sufficient temperature. "Now, sir," said the professor, "if you have faith in science, you will plunge your right hand into that cauldron of boiling lead, and ladle it out into the cold water which is standing by." "Are you serious?" asked the Royal pupil. "Perfectly," was the reply. "If you tell me to do it, I will," said the Prince, and he at once ladled out the boiling liquid, with perfect impunity.



From the Painting by Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A.

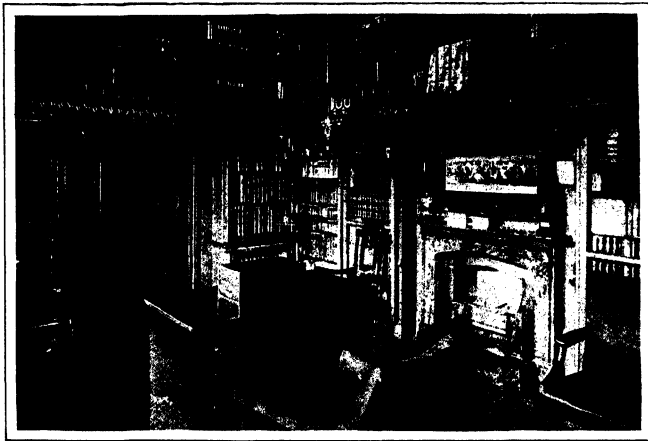


Photo : Wilson, Aberdeen.

SIR WALTER SCOTT AND HIS STUDY AT ABBOTSFORD.

While in the north the Prince fell under the glamour of the books of Sir Walter Scott, and in that writer's stirring romances found relief from his exacting studies. The "Wizard" never had a keener admirer or one whose fondness for Highland scenes was more pronounced. In youth and throughout his life King Edward was a great reader of fiction; and in the days of his manhood there were still giants in the land. Dickens was in the full tide of his wondrous activity. Thackeray was in the plenitude of his fame. The educational value of the fiction of the moment may not be great, but the fiction of the masters of the art has an instructive worth in the presentation of social and historical conditions, and in the revelation of phases of human nature, which makes the reading of it an essential part of a young man's equipment for life itself. The professors under whose direction the Prince had to use his faculties worked him hard, but he counteracted their ambition to make him a prodigy of knowledge by cultivating the pleasures of the imagination. It is probably to this habit of turning to the literature of romance that King Edward owed, in part, his ready apprehension of the minds of men and the ever increasing breadth of outlook on life which distinguished him from youth to age. Be that as it may, he was a lover of Scott, a reader of novels whenever he could get the time to dip into one; and it is pleasant to think that this was so, and that law and history, chemistry in relation to manufactures, and similar topics were tempered by indulgence in the literature of the weavers of plots.

After Edinburgh came Oxford, where

the Prince entered at Christ Church. Meanwhile, he had attained his legal majority—at the age of eighteen, for it is one of the privileges of an Heir Apparent to enter upon legal manhood three years earlier than others. "I hear," said Mr. Greville in his "Memoirs," "the Queen has written a letter to the Prince of Wales announcing to him his emancipation from parental authority and control, and that it is one of the most admirable letters ever penned. She tells him that he may have thought the rule they adopted for his education a severe one, but that his welfare was their only object; and well knowing to what seductions of flattery he would eventually be exposed, they wished to prepare and strengthen his mind against them, that he was now to consider himself his own master, and that they should never intrude any advice upon him, although always ready to give it him whenever he thought fit to seek it. It was a very long letter all in that line, and it seems to have made a profound impression on the Prince, and to have touched his feelings to the quick. He brought it to Gerald Wellesley in floods of tears, and the effect it produced is a proof of the wisdom which dictated its composition."

Unfortunately that letter was not included in the selection from the Queen's correspondence produced by direction of Edward VII. Probably it was of too intimate a character; but it may now be possible to include it in the next batch should His present Majesty think fit to carry forward the story of his illustrious grandmother's life as disclosed in her own papers to a date later than the death of the Prince Consort. Meanwhile, Greville's account of its contents

and the effect it produced upon the sensitive mind of the Prince will serve sufficiently to indicate its purport and the high value its recipient placed upon it. Though now of full age and his own

master—and a Colonel in the Army to boot, for he had been gazetted to the 16th Hussars and perfected in all military accomplishments, including horsemanship, in which he delighted and excelled—the Prince was still in a measure under parental control. The Prince Consort appointed a governor to overlook his doings at Oxford. This gentleman was Colonel Bruce, a brother of the Lady Augusta Bruce who became the wife of Dean Stanley. With Colonel Bruce the Prince set up a warm friendship, which did not, however, imply any relaxation of superintendence by the Colonel, a kindly man of the world, but sensible of his responsibilities of guardianship. Between his military duties and his studies at Christ Church, the Prince was at least sufficiently hard worked to excite the sympathy of the public, who heard so much of the various educational processes he was obliged to endure that they imagined him over-ridden by his

educators. *Punch* expressed this view in some highly popular verses at the time. "A Prince at High Pressure" was the title, and the quotation of two of the stanzas will suffice to indicate their strain:—

To the south from the north, from the shores of
the Forth,
Where at hands Presbyterian pure science is
quaffed,
The Prince, in a trice, is whipped to the Isis,
Where Oxford keeps springs mediæval on
draught.



QUEEN VICTORIA AND THE PRINCE CONSORT.

Dipped in grey Oxford mixture (lest that prove
a fixture),
The poor lad's to be plunged in less Orthodox
Cam,
Where dynamics and statics, and pure mathe-
matics,
Will be piled on his brain's awful cargo of
cram.

But the capacity of a youth of nineteen

to jettison cargoes of cram almost as fast as the stuff can be put aboard could hardly have been appreciated by the poetic jester. As a matter of fact, the Prince's spirits were too high and his energy too inexhaustible for him to allow himself to be harried into incessant mental exertion by professors. If he was apt to learn he also shared the common human ability, without which youth would be a joyless oppression, to resist the tyrannies of instructors. If he worked well while he was working, he also played well, and played a good deal, always at such recreations as commended themselves to the judicious and ever vigilant Colonel Bruce. As has been said, he was an excellent horseman: in

youth a graceful and in manhood and age a capital figure in the saddle, with a perfect seat and hands, and, it is scarcely necessary to say, always with horses to ride as nearly perfect in look and manners as the authorities of the Royal stables could provide. And, being fond of equestrian exercise, he rode whenever he could; and while he was at Christ Church there were few meets of the South Oxfordshire Hunt which he did not attend and at which he did not set the pace. "Well, Charles, what do you think of the Prince of Wales?" asked Earl Spencer, Master of the Pytchley, of Charles Payne, the huntsman. "Make a capital King, my lord," was the reply. "Why?" "Sure to do that; sits so well." And, though



CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD: THE DINING HALL.

Photo: Gillman, Oxford.

he lacked the length of thigh which helps to make the ideal horseman and gives unity of appearance to animal and rider, he rode as well as he sat, for he did so with a fearlessness which must sometimes have caused uneasiness to his companions. Nerve and personal courage he certainly inherited from his Hanoverian forbears, and in those qualities none of his Oxford and Hussar contemporaries could excel him. That courage was more than once severely tested in later life, as we shall have occasion to show. Nor did it fail. The King was a Guelph, and there was never a Guelph in the records of the family who was a coward, either physically or morally. The courage of the rider to



*Photo: Stearn,
Cambridge.*

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE:
THE GATEWAY.

hounds in Oxfordshire was innate. But it was coupled with a sense of discipline and conformity to authority not always to be found in princes. If the control exercised at Oxford was a little irksome at times, as it was bound to be, the Prince bore it with good sense. Once, however, he broke out of bounds and stole away from Cambridge—where he had also entered, at Trinity College, and was attending a course of lectures—to have a day to himself in town, apparently because he thought the supervision too close and strict. And close it undoubtedly was, for his masters and tutors, or the governor for them, had to send to Windsor or wherever the Court happened to be, a



TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE: NEVILLE'S COURT.

detailed account of his doings day by day. He could not make an acquaintance without the fact being known at Windsor; and his supervisors were not the sort of men to report unfaithfully or feign forgetfulness. Sir Edward Dicey tells the story in a little volume of sketches by various writers—"King Edward VII."—published in 1910:—

"At the time of which I speak, the Prince was at Cambridge attending lectures at Trinity College as a student. Unlike his fellow-students, he had no rooms in college, but resided at Madingly Hall, near the University town. The Hall had been hired in the name of General Grey as the abode of the Prince during his residence at Cambridge. On one fine morning the Royal pupil had, to use a college saying, 'gone out of

bounds.' His absence was soon discovered, and he was traced to the railway station, where he had taken a return ticket for London by a train which had already started. The telegraph was immediately set in action, and when the truant Prince arrived at the London terminus he found a Royal carriage waiting for him with instructions to proceed forthwith to Buckingham Palace, where he was expected to luncheon. The situation was saved; and I have no doubt the Prince's strong sense of humour reconciled him to the failure of his abortive scheme to have a day to himself in London. But men who recollect their own boyish years cannot wonder if the perpetual watch kept over the Prince by his guardians was apt, to say the least, to become irksome."



Photo: Clennett, Cambridge.

ANOTHER "TRINITY" VIEW:
THE BRIDGE.

CHAPTER V

SEEING THE WORLD

A Trip in the State Barge—Across the Border to Scotland—Albert Edward as a Highland Laddie—The Prince at the Great Exhibition of 1851—At the House of Lords—The Crimean War and its Price—Napoleon III. and the Royal Children—A Trip to Paris—Delightful Days—The Seeds of the *Entente Cordiale*—Back in England—A Flying Visit to Germany—A Fortnight in the Emerald Isle—The Continental Tour of 1859—Presented to the Pope—A Glimpse of Gibraltar—Standing on Manhood's Verge—A Prince at Prayer.

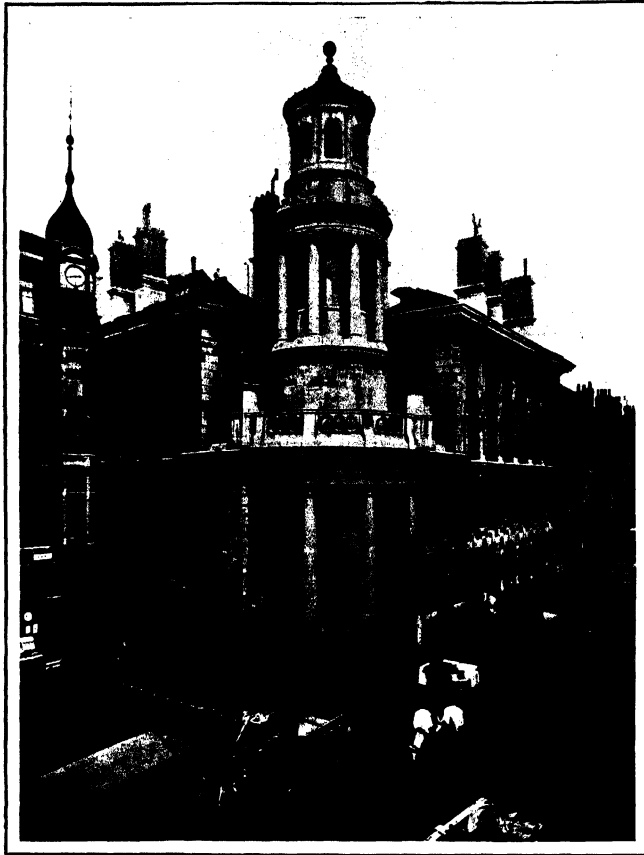
THERE is one aspect of the Prince's education which needs to be touched upon if this is to be a complete survey of the years of youth—namely, the various journeys he made with his parents or with companions; for these must have had a marked effect upon his mental expansion and greatly assisted the Prince Consort's desire that he should obtain an early and thorough realisation of the relationship in which he stood both to his contemporaries and to the affairs of the world.

There were also many things other than journeys to keep the Prince's mental machinery in swift revolution and to minister to his natural precocity. Thus, before he had reached his eighth year he took part in a State pageant, the occasion being the opening of the new Coal Exchange in the City, and the Royal progress being made in the State barge down the Thames. The time of year, the 30th of October, was not the best for a procession by water. But the weather was happily propitious. The Queen had intended to perform the ceremony, and there had been great preparations for her appearance within the City boundaries with her husband and the two eldest children. But she was laid

aside by a mild attack of chicken-pox, and the duty had to be discharged by her husband. The writer of the "Life and Times of Queen Victoria" says that the spectacle revived picturesque memories of "the spacious days of Great Elizabeth," for the Royal party proceeded to London by the silent highway of the river. Twenty-seven brawny watermen rowed the Queen's barge from Westminster Stairs to the City, and, strange to say, for once the fog and murky atmosphere of London in early winter cleared away, and the ceremony took place in the sunshine, under a sky of Italian brilliancy. The crowds covered every possible corner where human beings could cluster. The long lines of shipping on each bank of the Pool were bright with bunting, and black with swarming sightseers. The cheering was overpowering when the fair-haired young Prince was seen in the barge, and both the Royal children, though they went through the ordeal quietly and prettily, were obviously a little frightened and nervous. "The Prince," wrote Lady Lyttelton to Mrs. Gladstone, "was perfect in taste and manner, putting the Prince of Wales forward without affectation, and very dignified and kind himself." The procession on the water was

gorgeous in the extreme. State liveries were blazing everywhere. Civic costumes of feudal times kindled many ancient memories ; and the Lord Mayor's barge,

little Prince and Princess. But of one civic speaker and his speech in the Rotunda her ladyship says it " was most pompous ; and he is ridiculous in voice and manner.



THE COAL EXCHANGE, LONDON.

which led the way, was a miracle of garish splendour. Lady Lyttelton says that what struck her most was not only the cheering, but the affectionate expression on the faces of the people when they craned forward to get a glimpse of the

And his immense size, and cloak, and wig, and great voice addressing the Prince of Wales about his being the 'pledge and promise of a long race of kings,' looked quite absurd. Poor Princey did not seem at all to guess what he meant." The Queen was rather sad-hearted at missing this first public reception of her children, which was the occasion of such an outburst of popular enthusiasm, loyal huzzas, and joy-bells ringing all over London town, not to mention thunderous salutations from the Tower guns — "enough," says Lady Lyttelton, "to drive one mad."

In August of the following year the Queen and Prince Albert were in the North for the purpose of opening the new railway bridges at Newcastle and Berwick ; and the Prince and the Princess Royal went with them, sharing in the loyal and hearty reception everywhere

accorded to the party. If any coldness towards Royalty had lingered in the North of England after the young Queen's accession and marriage, it was effectively dispelled by the presence of the Heir to the Throne and his pretty sister. From Berwick the Royal Family went on to Edinburgh for a short residence in Holyrood Palace. Says the writer already quoted: "The reception of the Queen in the 'grey metropolis of the North' was picturesque as well as enthusiastic. The Royal Company of Archers in their quaint old costume, headed by the Duke of Buccleuch, claimed their historic right of acting as the Queen's bodyguard, and they surrounded her carriage as it drove through swarming crowds from the railway station to the Palace, in which no Queen of Scotland had set foot since Mary Stuart crossed its threshold, never to return to it again. Immediately after her arrival, the Queen and her family began to explore the Palace and its ruined precincts, and she records her delight in her Diary at discovering in the crumbling Abbey the tomb 'of Flora Macdonald's mother,' not the Flora Macdonald who assisted the Young Pretender to escape, but a lady of the Clanranald family, who was then serving as a Maid of Honour. Next morning the Queen and 'the children' drove round the park, and climbed Arthur's Seat, and the Prince Consort proceeded to lay the foundation-stone of the National Gallery of Arts, whilst the rest of the day was spent in sight-seeing. At half-past eight on the following morning Her Majesty started for Balmoral, which she reached in the afternoon."

The life of the young Prince in the Highlands was made interesting by many

excursions in the glorious country within driving distance of the Castle, and enlivened by a gathering of the clansmen at Braemar, which, we may be quite sure, was more keenly enjoyed than water trips in State to the City and the opening of railway bridges. In her "Leaves from a Journal of our Life in the Highlands" is put on record some particulars of the day's doings: "We lunched early, and



THE STATE BARGE.

then went at half-past two o'clock, with the children and all our party, except Lady Douro, to the Gathering at the Castle of Braemar, as we did last year. The Duffs, Farquharsons, the Leeds's, and those staying with them, and Captain Forbes and forty of his men who had come over from Strath Don, were there. Some of our people were there also. There were the usual games of 'putting the stone,' 'throwing the hammer' and

'caber,' and racing up the hill of Craig Cheunnich, which was accomplished in less than six minutes and a half ; and we were all much pleased to see our gillie Duncan, who is an active, good-looking young man, win. He was far before the others the whole way. It is a fearful exertion. Mr. Farquharson brought him up to me afterwards. Eighteen or nineteen started, and it looked very pretty to see them run off in their different coloured kilts, with their white shirts (the jackets or doublets they take off for all the games), and scramble up through the wood, emerging gradually at the edge of it, and climbing the hill.

"After this we went into the Castle, and saw some dancing ; the prettiest was a reel by Mr. Farquharson's children and some other children, and the 'Ghillie Callum,' beautifully danced by John Athole Farquharson, the fourth son. The twelve children were all there, including the baby, who is two years old."

The year 1851 was noteworthy for the great International Exhibition in Hyde Park. The credit for the inception of the idea belongs to the Prince Consort, who carried it into execution, notwithstanding the chill disfavour of the general public. The mood did not change until the success of the project was assured, and people began to believe that the Crystal Palace, which had arisen in their midst, was one of the wonders of the time. A reaction set in, and expectations of peace and international goodwill were formed which were almost as extravagant as the fears that the exhibition would be a *fiasco*, that it would draw riotous mobs and bring over to the country a swarm of undesirable foreigners, some of whom might seek the life of the Sovereign. Nor

were these ridiculous notions entertained by childish people alone. The Parliamentary intelligence, which on all subjects pretty accurately reflects the mind of the ordinary man, became alarmed. In the debate on the Address of that year, Colonel Sibthorpe expressed a hope that Heaven might destroy the building by hail or lightning before the opening day, so apprehensive was he that something terrible would happen. It is difficult to say whether these timid folk feared their own fellow-citizens more than the expected inrush of foreigners, against whom there was then in England, chiefly on account of the excesses of the revolutionary parties on the Continent, an ignorant prejudice the present generation has happily lost. The representatives of Foreign States did not respond to the Prince Consort's efforts to use the Exhibition as a centre for the fraternisation of nations on the ground of a common interest in trade and the arts. There was a disagreeable dispute between the Court and the Ambassadors as to the presentation of a joint Address to Her Majesty at the opening ceremony, the Russian Ambassador declining to join in the Address, and others showing scant enthusiasm in the matter. A majority therefore decided to present no Address, as the Prince Consort had suggested to them ; and the Queen was so much annoyed that she instructed the senior member of the diplomatic body in London to tell his colleagues that she did not desire them "to accept a courtesy which anywhere else would be looked upon as a favour." Neither the Queen nor the Prince Consort shared the apprehensions of the timorous that the assemblage which the opening would draw from all parts of the country

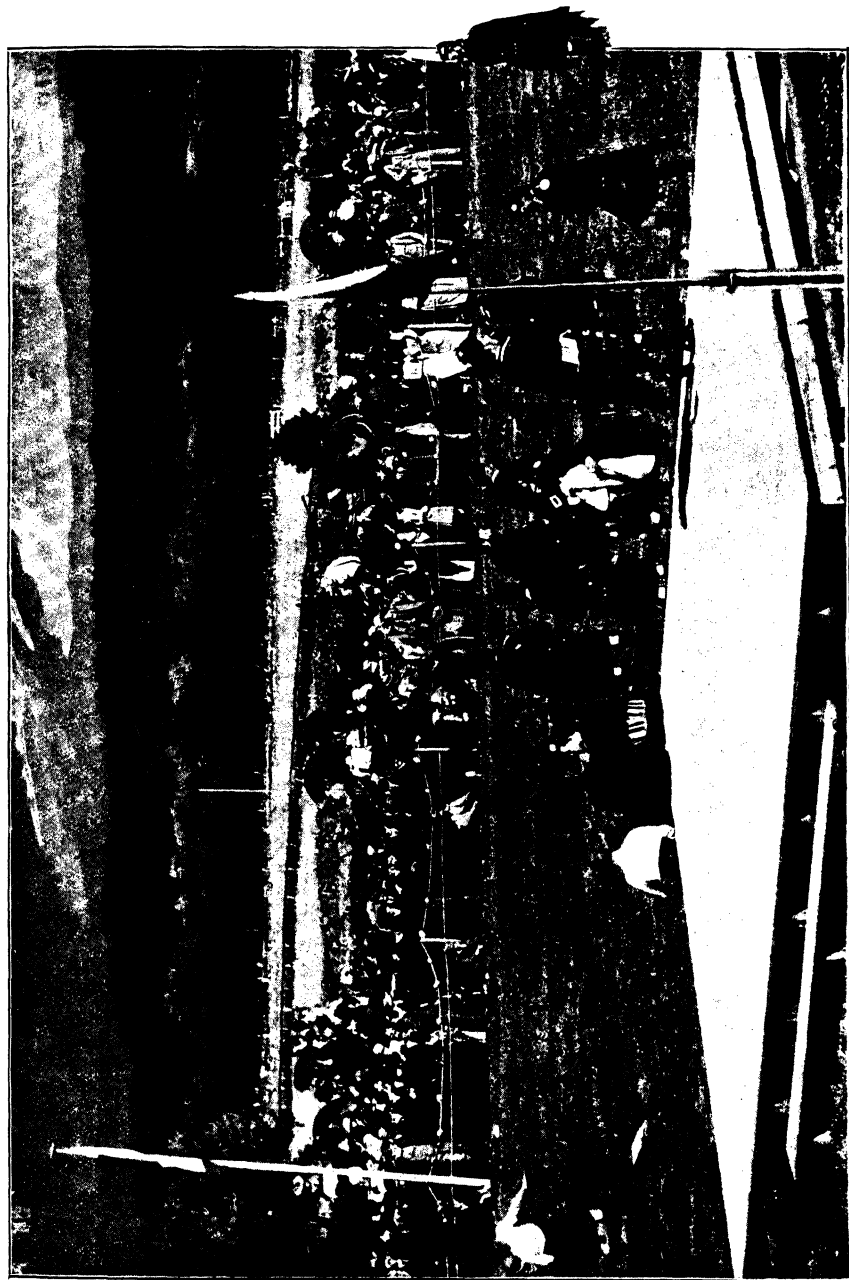
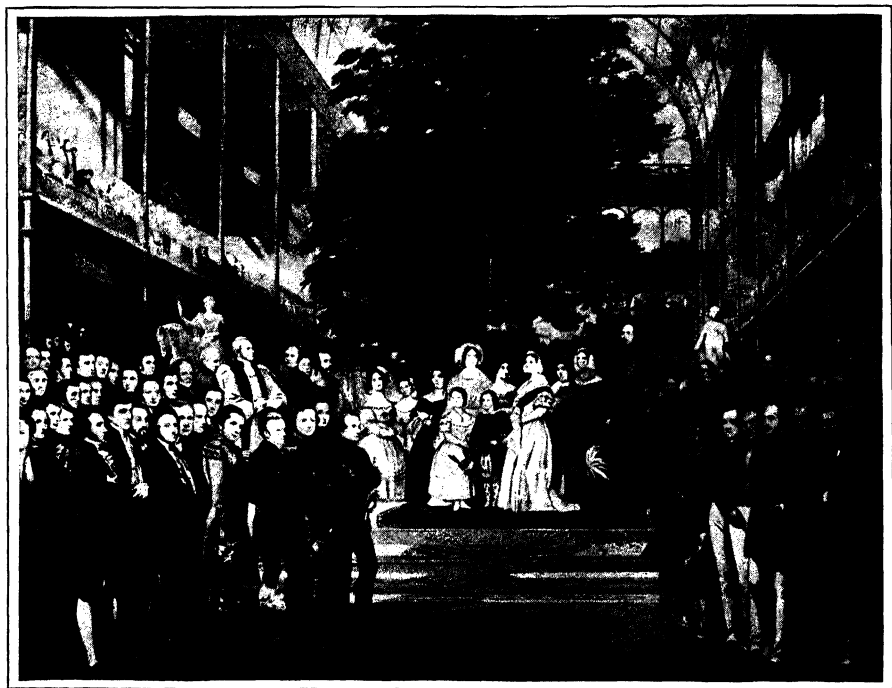


Photo: Wilson, Highland.

HIGHLAND GAMES.

would be turbulent, for they took the Prince of Wales and the Princess Royal with them, though it was understood that there were Royal relations who looked upon that as a hazardous proceeding, and urged that "the children" should be left at home. The Queen's confidence in the loyalty and good behaviour of the throng was amply justified. The opening took place on the 1st of May, and the Royal couple and the Prince and Princess were received with unbounded enthusiasm along the route from Buckingham Palace to Hyde Park and outside and within the building, which to the eyes of a generation unjaded

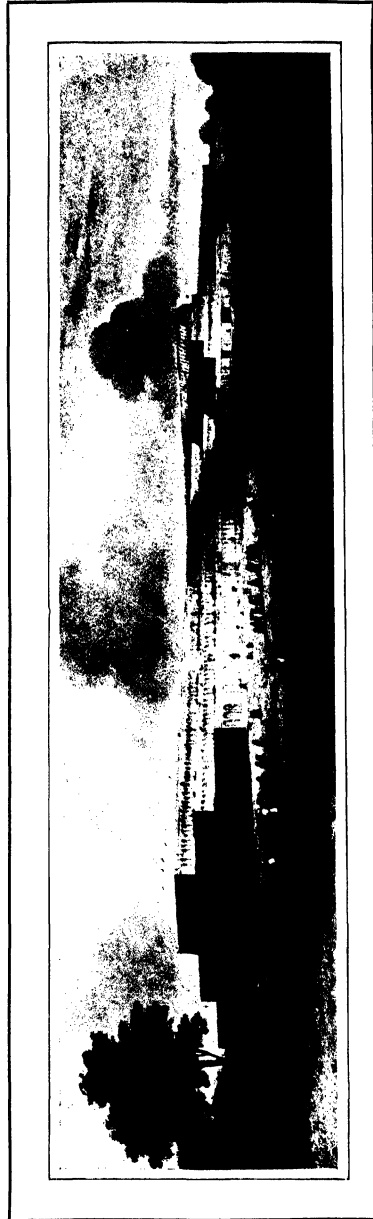
by exhibitions presented a scene of wondrous beauty, and was treated by contemporary writers as one of the marvels of all time. "A little rain fell," writes the Queen, "just as we started, but before we came near the Crystal Palace the sun shone and gleamed upon the gigantic edifice, upon which the flags of all the nations were floating. We drove up Rotten Row, and got out at the entrance on that side. The glimpse of the transept through the iron gates, the waving palms, flowers, statues, myriads of people filling the galleries and seats around, gave us a sensation which I can never forget, and I felt much moved. We



THE OPENING OF THE GREAT EXHIBITION OF 1851.

(From the picture by H. C. Selous, in the Victoria and Albert Museum.)

went for a moment to a little side room, where we left our shawls, and where we found Maria and Mary [of Teck], and outside which were standing the other Princes. In a few seconds we proceeded, Albert leading me, having Vicky at his right hand and Bertie holding mine. . . . The tremendous cheers, the joy expressed in every face, the immensity of the building, the mixture of palms, flowers, trees, statues, fountains, the organ (with 200 instruments and 600 voices, which sounded like nothing), and my beloved husband, the author of this 'Peace-Festival,' which united the industry of all nations of the earth—all this was moving indeed, and it was and is a day to live for ever." When the National Anthem had been sung, Prince Albert, at the head of the Commissioners, read their Report to the Queen. She in turn read a short reply. A brief prayer was offered by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and then the "Hallelujah Chorus" was sung. The grand State procession of all the dignitaries was then formed, and walked along the whole length of the crowded nave amidst deafening cheers. "Everyone's face," writes the Queen in her Diary, "was bright and smiling, many with tears in their eyes. Many Frenchmen called out *Vive la Reine!* . . . The old Duke and Lord Anglesey walked arm in arm, which was a touching sight." When the procession returned to the point from which it started, Lord Breadalbane proclaimed the Exhibition open in the name of the Queen, whereupon there was a flourish of trumpets and more cheering on the part of the great assembly. "Everybody," writes the Queen, "was astonished and delighted. Sir George Grey (Home Secretary) in



THE GREAT EXHIBITION BUILDING (CRYSTAL PALACE) IN HYDE PARK, LONDON, 1851.
(From the picture by Geo. Wallis, in the Victoria and Albert Museum.)

Knowsley Park, the purpose being to inspect the Docks. Manchester and Salford were also visited, but "the children" do not figure in pictures of the Royal carriage.

In his thirteenth year the Prince of Wales made his first public appearance in the House of Lords, being taken by the Queen at the opening of the Parliament at which Her Majesty had to make the dread announcement that

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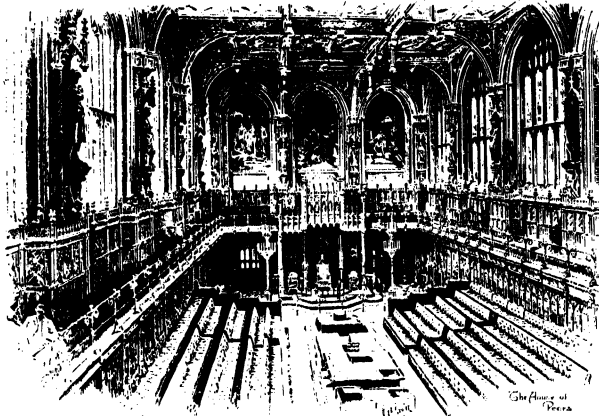


Photo: York & Son, Notting Hill.

INTERIOR OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

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life. Be that as it may, we record the fact of his presence as not the least important educational incident of his youth and as an illustration of the means taken by his parents to familiarise him with the class of problems it would be his destiny to handle. His thoughts about these apprehensions of war with Russia—apprehensions which were to become actualities within the two succeeding months—must have been strangely complicated also by the recent presence at Court of two daughters of the Czar, who in the previous summer

had been on a visit to his parents. But the Prince may not have seen much of these Princesses at the time, for just before their arrival he had been smitten with measles, from which the entire Royal Family suffered. The two Princesses were taken to a review of the fleet off Spithead and shown something of the naval strength of England, at which they marvelled not less than at the bitterness of English feeling towards their father. To them it was unintelligible that their father's word should be doubted amongst us. Embarrassing indeed must the visit have been both for them and their hosts, though it throws light on the sincerity and strength of the desire of the Czar Nicholas for peace that, though the negotiations were passing from bad to worse, he should have entrusted his daughters amongst us, commending them in an affectionate autograph letter to Victoria's care and protection. While the war ran its course it preoccupied the minds of the Court. To its anxieties, the alternations of hope and fear, the long periods of waiting, the excitement of its victories, the significance of its reverses, the intellect of the young Prince could have been no stranger. To most of us in this Empire there was a war going on somewhere when we were young. Who does not remember with what vividness the glory and the horrors of it presented themselves to the boyish mind, with what eagerness the newspapers were scanned for news of it, with what prolonged attention the illustrated journals were studied? To the young Prince these fateful years of the war in the Crimea—to be followed by the yet more stirring and terrible drama of the mutiny in India—must surely have

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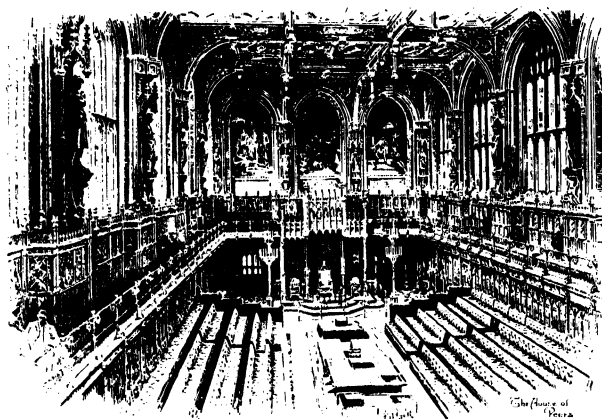


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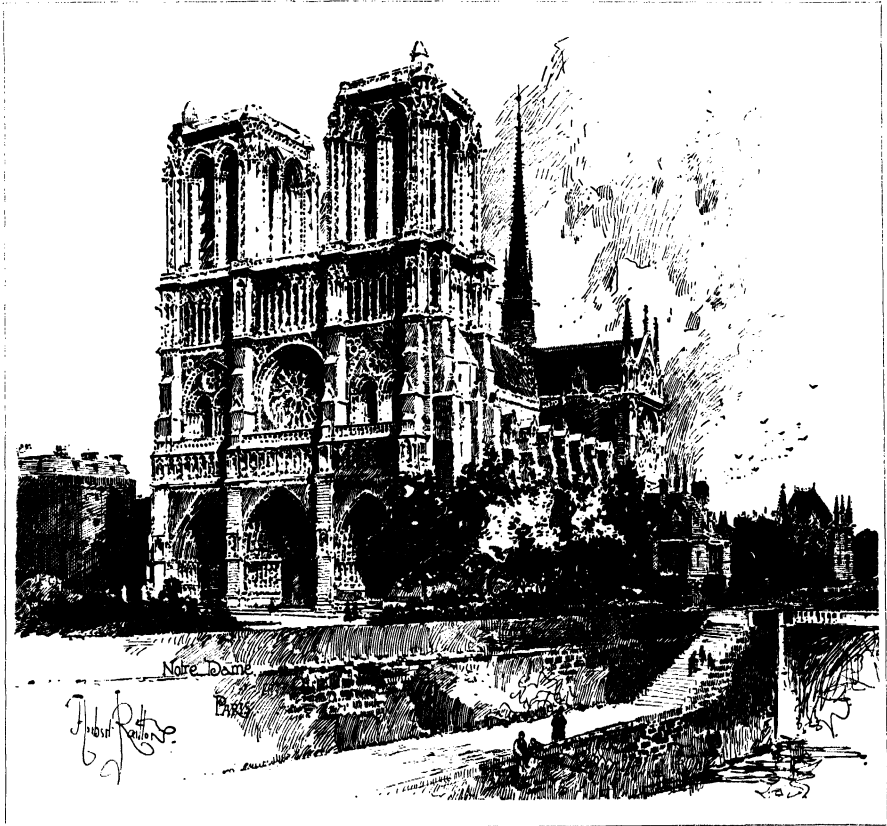
spectators a space for the heroes of the ceremony. At eleven o'clock the Queen, Prince Albert, and their family appeared, and at a signal the soldiers who were to be decorated stood before her. They passed along in single file, each handing a card recording his name and services to an officer, who delivered it to the Queen. She then presented each hero with his medal, saying a kindly word to every man as he went by. It was a strange and impressive spectacle. Gaunt, pallid forms, maimed and mutilated, hobbled along on crutches—or staggered forward, aided by walking-sticks—and for officers and men alike the Queen had words of sympathy and drew tears from many an eye. From the highest Prince of the blood—the Duke of Cambridge was the first to step forward for his medal—to the humblest private, writes the Queen to King Leopold, “all received the same distinction for the bravest conduct in the severest actions, and the rough hands of the brave and honest private soldier came for the first time in contact with that of their Sovereign and their Queen. Noble fellows! I feel as if they were my own children; my heart beats for them as for my nearest and dearest.” Captain Currie, of the 14th, was so feeble that he almost failed to reach the dais on his crutches, and his condition profoundly touched the heart of the Queen. Captain Sayer, of the 23rd Fusiliers, could not be lifted out of his chair, so the Queen bent over him gracefully and pinned his medal to his breast, with a few words of comfort and hope. Colonel Sir T. Troubridge, of the 7th Fusiliers, who, when he had both his arms shot away at Inkermann, refused

to leave his command till the battle was won, was also unable to leave his chair. When the Queen gave him his medal she whispered in his ear that she would reward his courage by making him one of her own aides-de-camp, whereupon he answered, “I am now amply repaid for everything.” It was a scene which moved the hearts of all who took part in it, with the exception, perhaps, of the brusque and churlish Secretary of State for War. Lord Malmesbury says, “After the ceremony, Lady Seymour, whom I met, told me that Mrs. Norton, talking about it to Lord Panmure, asked, ‘Was the Queen touched?’ ‘Bless my soul, no!’ was the reply. ‘She had a brass railing in front of her, and no one could touch her.’ Mrs. Norton then said, ‘I mean, was she moved?’ ‘Moved!’ answered Lord Panmure; ‘she had no occasion to move.’ Mrs. Norton then gave it up in despair.”

In this year Emperor Napoleon III. visited the Queen with the Empress Eugénie. They were made much of at the Court, in London society, and by the populace, as was fitting in the case of an ally whose armies were fighting with our own in the Crimea. The interest in him and his lovely Empress was intense, not less because of the romance of his career than because it was known he had come for the purposes of a council of war and had suggested that he should go personally to the seat of operations. The arrival at Windsor affected the Queen unusually. “I cannot say what indescribable emotions filled me,” she wrote; “these great meetings of Sovereigns, surrounded by very exciting accompaniments, are always very agitating.” The Royal children were with

their parents at this reception of the nephew of the great Napoleon—but a few years before an exile, living on hope in King Street, St. James's, and for three

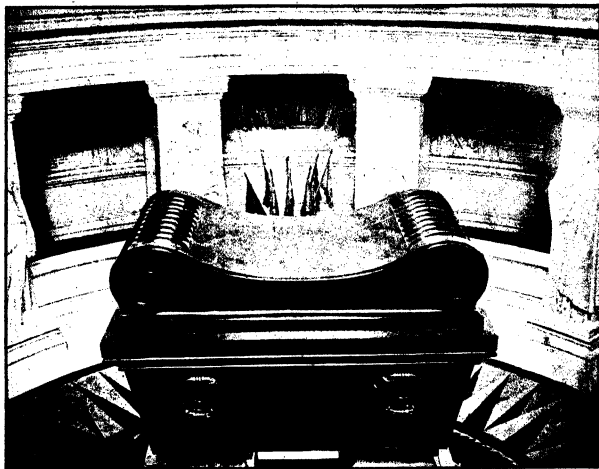
been a transient figure in London society. The Royal children were presented to him—"Vicky, with very alarmed eyes, making low curtseys," observes the



THE CATHEDRAL OF NOTRE DAME, PARIS.

years immured in a French fortress. Her Majesty saluted him once on each check, and then—in her own words—"embraced the very gentle, very graceful, and evidently very nervous Empress," whom, by the way, she had met before when the beautiful Spanish maiden had

Queen. But she says nothing of the Prince of Wales, by this time schooled to perfection in matters of address, but no doubt knowing full well the ancestry of the man and the surprising story of his life, and watching him with keen interest. The Emperor and Empress



TOMB OF NAPOLEON I. IN LES INVALIDES, PARIS.

stayed for a week. They were entertained at the Guildhall, taken to the Crystal Palace by the Queen and the Royal Family, and everywhere received with much enthusiasm. They were the idols of the hour. That Louis Napoleon should be in London again as Emperor of the French was so strange a fact that the populace lost their heads over him. And so, to an extent, did the Queen also, though the Prince Consort did not. Anyway, the Emperor and Empress made themselves very popular with everybody at Court, and especially with the Royal children. A record by King Edward of the Emperor's conversations with the boy Prince of Wales would indeed be interesting. The departure of the guests sent the Royal children into tears—not, we may be sure, the Prince, though that is possible, for tears in the Victorian era were more plentiful than in our own. It was fashionable to show extreme sensibility. Lord

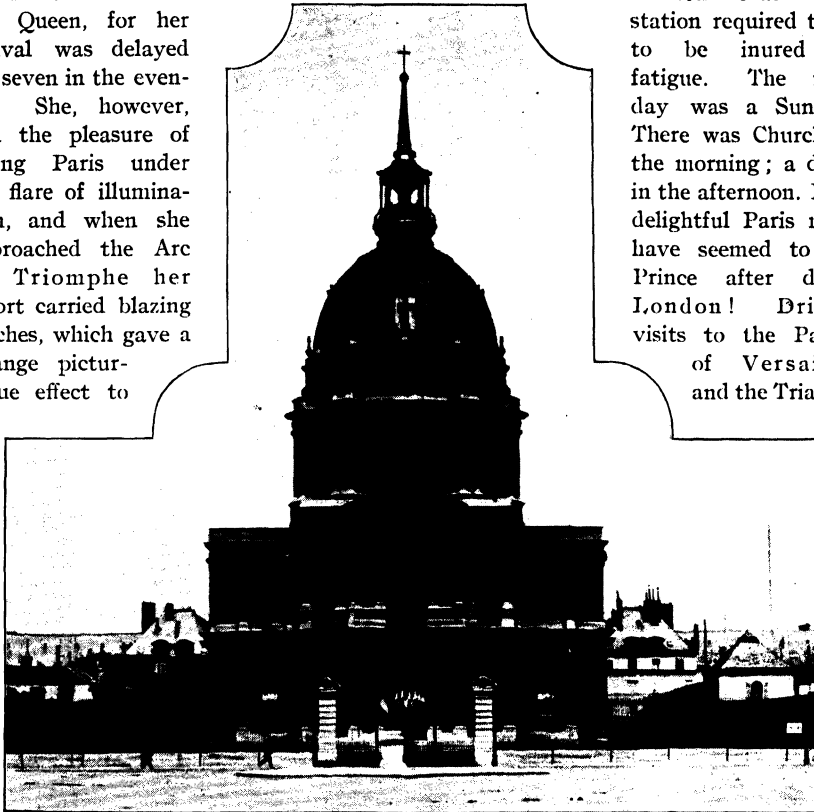
Adolphus Fitzmaurice told the company at Lady Malmesbury's dinner table in the evening that the parting was very affecting. "Everybody cried—even the suite. The Queen's children began, as the Emperor and Empress had been very kind to them, and they were sorry to lose them; and this set off the Maids of Honour." The visit was returned in August of the same year, and for eight days the Prince of Wales and the Princess Royal, who

had both escaped a visitation of scarlet fever in the children's apartments, enjoyed the delights of a first stay in Paris. They embarked at Osborne in the Royal yacht, and, escorted by a squadron of steamers—and the steamship was then something of a novelty in the British Navy—crossed the Channel to Boulogne.

"Salutes of cannon from the heights," says the writer of the "Life of Queen Victoria," "volleys of musketry from the troops, and enthusiastic cheers from the people greeted the visitors. When the Royal yacht came to the pier the Emperor hastened on board, saluted the Queen, kissing her hand and both cheeks, and then shook hands with Prince Albert, the Prince of Wales, and the Princess Royal. The Queen and her family drove to the station, the Emperor and Marshal Magnan riding on each side of her carriage. They took train to Paris, where they were cordially received. From the terminus of the Strasbourg Railway to

the Palace of St. Cloud the houses were all in festal array, and 200,000 National Guards formed a double line for five miles along the route. This brilliant display was somewhat lost on the Queen, for her arrival was delayed till seven in the evening. She, however, had the pleasure of seeing Paris under the flare of illumination, and when she approached the Arc de Triomphe her escort carried blazing torches, which gave a strange picturesque effect to

so beautiful.' " And the children must have been equally bewildered and delighted—and perhaps a little sleepy, though both of them had by this time learned that their station required them to be inured to fatigue. The next day was a Sunday. There was Church in the morning; a drive in the afternoon. How delightful Paris must have seemed to the Prince after dingy London! Drives, visits to the Palace of Versailles and the Trianon,



THE HÔTEL DES INVALIDES, PARIS.

the scene. She was welcomed to the Palace of St. Cloud, which had been set apart for her, by the Empress and the ladies and high officers of the household; and Prince Albert describes their reception by the people as 'splendid' and 'enthusiastic.' The Queen says in her diary, 'I felt bewildered, but enchanted—everything is

to the Tuileries, to the Hôtel des Invalides to see the tomb of the first Napoleon, to the Ecole Militaire (where there was a review), to the forest of St. Germain (where there was a hunt)—these and the like doings occupied the time of the Prince and his sister. For their parents there were grand State balls, dinners, and the

like, with much discussion of the war and politics. The Emperor laid clever siege to the regard of the Queen by paying special attention to the young Prince and Princess, and by his extravagantly expressed admiration of the Prince Consort. The Greville "Memoirs" throw a bright light on the skill with which the Emperor exercised his powers of fascination upon

him and the children: Lord Clarendon, who was Minister in attendance on Her Majesty, told Mr. Greville that during this visit "the Queen was delighted with everything, and especially with the Emperor himself, who, with perfect knowledge of women, had taken the surest way to ingratiate himself with her. This it seems he began when he was in

England, and followed it up at Paris. After her visit the Queen talked it all over with Clarendon, and said, 'It is very odd; but the Emperor knows everything I have done, and where I have been ever since I was twelve years old; he even recollects how I was dressed, and a thousand little details it is extraordinary he should be acquainted with.' She has never before been on such a social footing with anybody, and he has approached her with the familiarity of their



THE TERRACE AND GARDENS OF THE TUILERIES.

equal positions, and with all the experience and knowledge of womankind he has acquired during his long life, passed in the world and in mixing in every sort of society. She seemed to have played her part throughout with great propriety and success. Old Jérôme did not choose to make his appearance till just at the last moment, because he insisted on being treated as a king, and having the title of 'Majesté' given him—a pretension Clarendon would not hear of her yielding to. . . . Clarendon said nothing could exceed the delight of the Queen at her visit to Paris, at her reception, at all she saw, and that she was charmed with the Emperor. They became so intimate, and she on such friendly terms with him, that she talked to him with the utmost frankness, and even discussed with him the most delicate of all subjects—the confiscation of the Orleans property, telling him her opinion upon it. He did not avoid the subject, and gave her the reasons why he thought himself obliged to take that course; that he knew all this wealth was employed in fomenting intrigues against his government, which was so new that it was necessary to take all precautions to avert such dangers. She replied that even if this were so, he might have contented himself with sequestering the property and restoring it when he was satisfied that all danger on that score was at an end. I asked Clarendon what he thought of the Emperor himself, and he said that he liked him and that he was very pleasing, but he was struck with his being so indolent and so excessively ignorant. The Prince of Wales was put by the Queen under Clarendon's charge, who was desired to tell him what to do

in public, when to bow to the people, and whom to speak to. He said that the Princess Royal was charming, with excellent manners and full of intelligence. Both the children were delighted with their *séjour*, and very sorry to come away."

To this historic visit the Prince may have owed that strong liking for Paris and for France which he exhibited throughout life. Louis Napoleon is a showy, but distressful and slightly ridiculous figure in the eyes of a generation which remembers only the failure by which he lost his throne; but both England and France have cause to be grateful to him for the pains he took to ingratiate himself with the Heir to the Throne and to fill his mind with delightful impressions of France and her people. Those impressions were to bear fruit in a desire to cultivate the friendship of France, and in a success which was to make the Prince of Wales as popular a personage in Paris as he was in London, to the infinite advantage of both peoples when their relations became strained. But on that point much will have to be said hereafter when we arrive at the period of Edward's sovereignty. Whatever else the Queen's visit accomplished—and it was the first paid by any English Sovereign since Henry VI.—it predisposed the Heir to the Throne to harmonise the interests of the two peoples. The liking conceived for the Emperor and Empress was, in the case of the Prince, to have the happiest results. Very adroitly did the Imperial hosts honour their young guests. At the ball at Versailles, the splendour of which sent contemporary writers into raptures, they were permitted to be

like, with much discussion of the war and politics. The Emperor laid clever siege to the regard of the Queen by paying special attention to the young Prince and Princess, and by his extravagantly expressed admiration of the Prince Consort. The Greville "Memoirs" throw a bright light on the skill with which the Emperor exercised his powers of fascination upon

him and the children: Lord Clarendon, who was Minister in attendance on Her Majesty, told Mr. Greville that during this visit "the Queen was delighted with everything, and especially with the Emperor himself, who, with perfect knowledge of women, had taken the surest way to ingratiate himself with her. This it seems he began when he was in

England, and followed it up at Paris. After her visit the Queen talked it all over with Clarendon, and said, 'It is very odd; but the Emperor knows everything I have done, and where I have been ever since I was twelve years old; he even recollects how I was dressed, and a thousand little details it is extraordinary he should be acquainted with.' She has never before been on such a social footing with anybody, and he has approached her with the familiarity of their



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Photo: Payne Jennings, Ashted.

THE MEETING OF THE WATERS, KILLARNEY.

present and to take their places at supper with the Emperor and Empress. And nothing is more flattering to youth than to be treated as adults. "You will be pleased to hear how well both the children behaved," wrote the Prince Consort to Baron Stockmar. "They have made themselves general favourites, especially the Prince of Wales, *qui est si gentil*." And to the Duchess of Kent: "I am bound to praise the children greatly. They behaved extremely well, and pleased everyone. The task was no easy one for them, but they discharged it without embarrassment and with natural simplicity." So delighted were the children that they did not want to leave, and a story is told that the Prince begged the Empress to allow them to stay after their parents had gone. The Empress demurred on the ground that it was unimaginable that the Queen

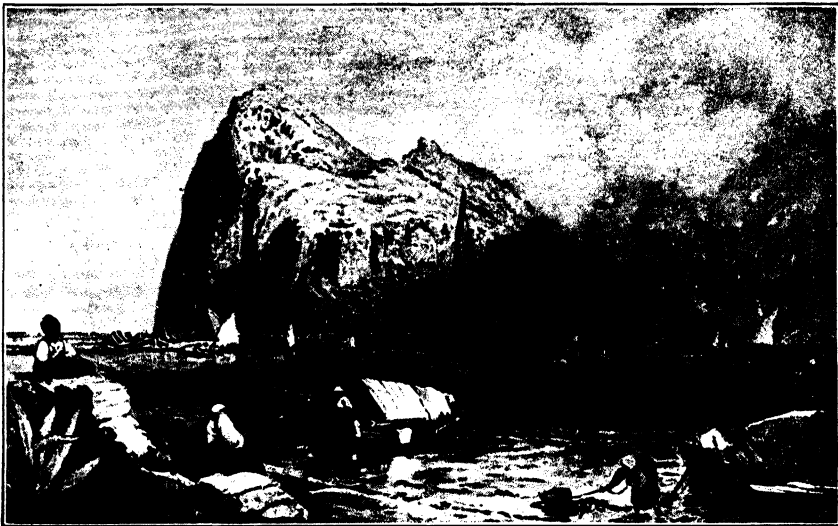
and the Prince Consort could do without their children. "Not do without us!" the Prince is reported to have answered. "Do not fancy that; there are six more of us at home, and they don't want *us*!" That was the story that went round Paris at the time and quickly crossed the Channel. Be it true or not, the Prince never ceased to think of his hosts with affectionate solicitude; and when, the Empire lost, broken in health, and borne down by bitter memories, Louis Napoleon wore away the remaining years of life in exile at Chislehurst, the Prince was one of his most frequent and welcome visitors.

The summer of the next year was partly spent in a walking tour in the West of England, and in a short tour in Germany, with Königsberg as a centre. The Prince was accompanied by his tutor, Mr. Gibbs, and his studies were strenuously continued. In 1858 he made

his first close acquaintance with Ireland, and spent a fortnight in the picturesque scenes of the south and south-west, learning there with ready sympathy the many delightful qualities of the Irish peasantry ; and probably being well instructed by the learned Mr. Gibbs in the distressful history of that portion of the country during the previous sixty years. On his return he took up his residence at the White Lodge, Richmond Park, with Mr. Gibbs, for the better preparation for his military examinations. Here he had as companions three young men slightly his seniors and approved of by the Queen and Prince Consort for their distinction of character. One was Major Teesdale, V.C., of the Royal Engineers, whose name was famous for an heroic exploit at Kars, and with whom the Prince formed a close friendship, which lasted until the

Major's death. Another was Major Lloyd Lindsay, another young Crimean hero. He also had won the newly instituted Victoria Cross, and will be better known to this generation as the Lord Wantage who did so much for the Volunteer movement ; and the third was Lord Valletort, eldest son of Lord Mount Edgcumbe.

On attaining his majority in 1859, the Prince undertook a Continental tour with Canon Tarver, travelling as Baron Renfrew, one of the Scottish titles of the Prince of Wales. The tour included a stay in Rome, where the Prince was received by His Holiness the Pope ; but the holiday in that city was abbreviated by orders from the Prince Consort, who was apprehensive about the Franco-Italian and Austrian complications of that time and thought it best that the Heir to the British Throne should be elsewhere. Hence the Prince was instructed to go



GIBRALTAR.

to Gibraltar, from whence he went on a tour in the south of Spain and made his first acquaintance with Portugal. Of the educative value of these travels—soon to be enhanced by a visit to Canada—the reader will judge for himself. They were an essential part of the training of the Prince. They carry him to the threshold of manhood; and here for a time we must leave him to review in outline the condition and problems of England during his adolescence. But we will close the chapter by a momentary reversion to his childhood. In what spirit was the young life lived? The prayers of a child suggest an answer. Those of the Prince were two. It is reported of him that as soon as he was able to write he copied them out in his straggling, childish hand. They were these—the first the morning prayer, the second the evening:—

“O Merciful God, I thank Thee for giving me rest during the night past, and refreshing me with quiet sleep. O

Lord, grant that I may pass a good and happy day, and be obedient to all those who are set to watch over me. Bless dear Papa and Mama and give them the comfort of seeing me grow up a good child. Bless and keep my brothers and sisters, and teach them and me to remember Thee our Creator in the days of our youth, through Jesus Christ our Lord.”

The other was:—“O Almighty God, I thank Thee for all the mercies which Thou hast given me this day. Take me this night under the shadow of Thy wing, and grant that I may rise again in health and safety, for Thou only canst protect me. Bless dear Papa, Mama, my brothers and sisters, and make me a good boy, through Jesus Christ our Lord.”

Those simple and beautiful invocations may give a better clue to the spirit in which the life was lived than could any consideration of the surface facts of the Prince's education.



THE FORUM, ROME.

Photo: Alinari & Cook, Rome.

CHAPTER VI

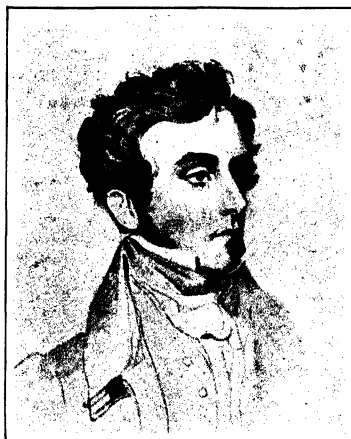
ENGLAND IN EDWARD'S CHILDHOOD—CONDITION OF THE WORKERS

A Gloomy Outlook—A Nation Awaking to Consciousness—The Exploitation of Child Labour—Lord Shaftesbury's Good Work—The Workers Combine—An Early Cotton Strike—The Queen's Speech, 1839—"The Duke" is Ready—The Chartist Rising—The Newport Attack—Cobden and the Corn Laws—Coal Mining Horrors—The Act of 1842—Ireland in a State of Famine—Roadsides Strewn with Dead—Father Mathew's Noble Work—The New Poor Law—O'Connell—Albert Edward Visits Ireland—An Enthusiastic Reception.

THE England of the 'forties and the 'fifties—of the period during which the future King Edward was finding his way to a comprehension of the affairs of the nation—was a vastly different England from that of the present; and the lot of the masses of the people was far less desirable than it has since become, hard though that lot still is to many. If men's hearts are now sore disturbed by the manifold defects of our social organisation and the life of the nation grows so complex that the persistence of old evils and the birth of new oppresses even the courageous with a feeling that toil for reform is but the labour of Sisyphus, much encouragement is nevertheless to be derived from a contemplation of the events of the middle of the nineteenth century. Great progress has been made in the acquisition and distribution of wealth, and therefore in the contentment of the people and the security of the State. Seventy years ago poverty and discomfort were so rife that the nation seemed to be on the eve of disruption. There were perils of international complications, some of which were to ripen into bloody and profitless wars, and others which are

not now worth disinterring because they ended with the lives agitated by thought of them; but none of these dangers approached in severity those presented by the poverty and wickedness, the ignorance and brutishness and fierce discontent of large numbers of the people. The battle of Parliamentary Reform had been fought and won ere Victoria came to the throne, and for the first time in our history a House of Commons assembled which did not exclusively represent the landed interest and the wealthy and professional classes in alliance with the territorial aristocracy; but the expectations that attended this partial victory over the dominant class were proved to have been extravagant. The nation awoke to a consciousness that Parliamentary institutions, under the manipulation of party rivals engrossed in struggles for office and power for themselves, moved with exceeding slowness and could be used to delay and defeat instead of accelerate the diffusion of material well-being. Hence the discontent among the industrial classes which blazed out in anger in the early years of Victoria's reign. Such legislation as had been passed by the Reform Parliament for the amelioration of their

lot, and notably for diminishing the scandals attendant upon child-labour in factories, had proved inoperative in practice. If the landed class had chastised the poor with whips, the new class which amassed wealth by organising and exploiting labour in the towns, and had converted great tracts of England from agriculture to congeries of industrial infernos, chastised them with scorpions. Greed for riches quickly got, no matter at what cost of human life and suffering to others, overlaid the humaner instincts of men. Laws for the protection of labour were systematically and generally evaded. Notwithstanding the law of 1833, the iron hand of the factory owner gripped the naked body of the English child with relentless strength, and forced therefrom the last ounce of wealth-producing energy. In vain did Lord Ashley, who, as Earl of Shaftesbury, was to win an enduring place in our annals as a social reformer, appeal to Parliament to enforce and strengthen the law. His speech of July, 1838, abounding in horrible facts and charged with simple and appealing eloquence, failed to induce the House of Commons to agree to a motion which would have compelled it to act. The Government were not unsympathetic—Governments seldom are; for them words are the cheapest of currencies—but they professed inability to answer the argument of



LORD ASHLEY, EARL OF
SHAFTESBURY.

the factory owners that competition with other nations forbade restrictions, and that if there were undue suffering, which they affected to deny, it was better that the people should suffer than that they should die of the starvation that would befall them on the certain destruction of the industry of the country. Such bitterness did this attitude excite among the people that, acting on the

instinct of self-help and refusal to submit to oppression which have ever characterised the English race, they formed still further combinations for their own protection and, unhappily, put them to violent use. The industrial areas were covered with a network of illegal organisations, and methods of terrorism were employed which made life and property dangerously insecure. "So great was the terrorism produced," says a writer in "Cassell's Illustrated History of England," "that conviction for an outrage was very rare. The utmost precautions were taken to prevent discovery in committing assassination. Strangers were sent to a great distance for the purpose; and even if they were detected, few persons would run the risk of coming forward as witnesses. The consequence was that in nine cases out of ten combination murders were perpetrated with impunity. In 1837 the Cotton Spinners' Association at Glasgow struck to prevent a reduction of wages in consequence

of the mercantile embarrassments arising from the commercial crash in the United States. This association had its branches all over Scotland and the North of England. During sixteen years a total of £200,000 had passed through its hands. When it struck in the spring of 1837, no less than 50,000 persons, including the families of the workers, were deprived of the means of existence, and reduced to the last degree of destitution. Crowds of angry workmen paraded the streets and gathered round the factory gates, to prevent other people from going in to work; fire-balls were thrown into the mills for the purpose of setting fire to them. At length the members of the association went so far as to shoot one of the new hands in open day in a public street of Glasgow. In consequence of this outrage the sheriff of Lanarkshire proceeded with a body of twenty policemen and arrested the members of the secret committee, sixteen in number, who were found assembled in a garret, to which they obtained access by a trap-ladder, in Gallowgate, Glasgow. This was on Saturday night, the 3rd of August. On the Monday following the strike was at an end, and all the mills in Glasgow were going. The jury found the prisoners guilty of conspiracy, and

they were sentenced to transportation, but the murder not proven—a result which excited some surprise, as the evidence was thought to have warranted a general verdict of “Guilty.” This was, two years after, followed by their being all liberated from confinement by Lord Normanby, then Home Secretary.”

That passage illuminates the conditions which impelled the Queen, in the Speech from the Throne in February, 1839, to observe that she had noticed with pain “the persevering efforts which have been made in some parts of the country to excite my subjects to disobedience and resistance of the law, and to recommend dangerous and illegal practices. For the counteraction of all such designs I depend on the efficacy of the law, which it will be my duty to enforce upon the good sense and right disposition of my people, upon their attachment to the principles of justice and their abhorrence of violence and disorder.” Words such as these, unaccompanied by promise of remedial legislation, and fortified by Ministerial speeches which contained no gleam of hope that the causes of the troubles would be searched out and eradicated, were not calculated to appease the growing wrath of the disaffected classes. In the previous year the combina-



A TRADE UNION CARD OF THE PERIOD.
(London School of Economics and Political Science.)

tions had solidified politically into a body which became known as the Chartists. The grievances of the middle classes had been met by Parliamentary Reform, and it was assumed that those of the industrial population could be satisfied in the same way. Hence there arose a vigorous agitation for the extension of the franchise. In 1838 a committee of six Members of Parliament and six working men prepared a Bill embodying their demands. This was called the "People's Charter." Its points were six in number: First, the extension of the right of voting to every male native of the United Kingdom, and every naturalised foreigner resident in the kingdom for more than two years, who should be twenty-one years of age, of sound mind, and unconvicted of crime; second, equal electoral districts; third, vote by ballot; fourth, annual Parliaments; fifth, no property qualification for Members; sixth, payment of Members of Parliament for their services. After the Queen's Speech in 1839 a monster petition, bearing nearly a million and a quarter signatures, was presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Attwood, and the motion to refer it to a Select Committee was rejected by a majority of eight. Ten years later another petition was formulated—an army of Chartists, though without weapons, had intended to accompany it to the doors of the House of Commons, but as a result of a compromise between the leaders and the police that intention was waived, and the processions, which were massed on Kennington Common, remained there. The Duke of Wellington had made every preparation to disperse the mob by force, and large numbers of citizens were sworn in as

special constables—among them the Louis Napoleon, who has already passed across these pages as Emperor of the French. Fortunately, there was no need to use force. The assemblage, which was expected to number a hundred thousand, but did not exceed twenty thousand, dispersed peaceably. It was, in fact, something of a *fiasco*. "Thank God," wrote the Queen, "the Chartist meeting and procession have turned out a complete failure! The loyalty of the people at large has been very striking, and their indignation at their peace being interfered with by such wanton and worthless men immense." Says the author of "The Life and Times of Queen Victoria":—

"The two men who got and deserved most credit for the happy termination of the Chartist meeting were Sir George Grey, the Home Secretary, and the Duke of Wellington, whose opinions on the affair had the greatest weight with the Queen. On the 11th of April, when all was quiet, the Duke of Wellington met Lord Campbell, and the following conversation took place between them: "I went up to him," writes Lord Campbell, "and said, 'Well, Duke, it has all turned out as you foretold.' *Duke*—'Oh, yes, I was sure of it, and I never showed a soldier or a musket. But I was ready. I could have stopped them wherever you liked, and if they had been armed it would have been all the same.' *Campbell*—'They say they are to meet next on the north side of the town, and avoid the bridges.' *Duke*—'Every street can be made a bridge. I can stop them anywhere.' *Campbell*—'If your Grace had commanded Paris on the 25th of February, Louis Philippe would still have been on the throne.' *Duke*—'It would have

been an easy matter. I should have made the Tuileries secure, and have kept my communications open.' Then, *more suo*, laying hold of my arm, and speaking very loud, and pointing with his finger, headed: 'Always keep your communications open, and you need have nothing to fear.'"

To revert for a moment to the earlier days of Chartism; the agitation was too deep-seated not to be able to withstand rebuff. With the rejection of the 1839 Petition the country rang with inflammatory speeches; resort to arms was threatened; bands armed with pikes and such rude weapons as could be forged, drilled at night, and marched in menacing procession. "At length," says the writer of Cassell's History, "Lord John Russell, as Home Secretary, reluctant

as he was to interfere with the free action of the people, issued a proclamation to the lieutenants of the disturbed counties, authorising them to accept the armed assistance of persons who might place themselves at their disposal for the preservation of the public peace. As a means of showing their numerical strength, the Chartists adopted the plan of going round from house to house with two books, demanding subscriptions for the support of the Charter, entering the names of subscribers in one book and of non-subscribers in the other. Each subscriber received a ticket, which was to be his protection in case of insur-

rection, while the non-subscribers were given to understand that their names would be remembered. Another striking mode of demonstrating their power and producing an impression, though not the most agreeable one, was to invade the churches. Monster meetings were held in the towns, and at one in Birmingham on the 14th of July, 1839, there was a serious conflict, in which the mob gained a temporary mastery of the police and



CHARTISTS ATTACK WESTGATE INN AT NEWPORT.
MONMOUTHSHIRE, 1839.

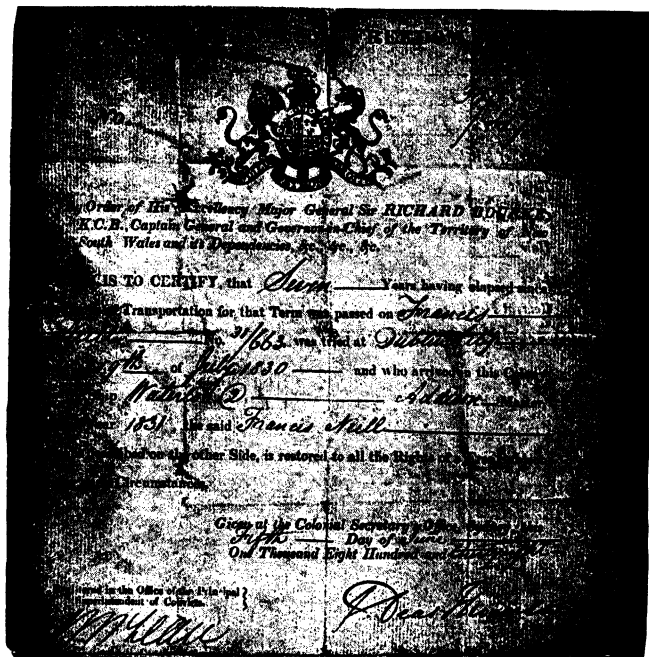
the military, and set fire to some ware-houses. At Newport, Monmouthshire, in the autumn of the same year, a linen-draper justice of the peace, Mr. John Frost, engineered a conspiracy to take possession of the town as part of a concerted rising in other centres. "The intention," says the writer of the History mentioned above, "was to surprise Newport at about midnight on Sunday, the 3rd of November; but owing to the inclemency of the weather it was not till ten o'clock on Monday morning that the insurgents entered the town in two divisions, one headed by Frost, and another by his son, a youth of fourteen or fifteen.

They were armed with guns, pistols, pikes, swords, and heavy clubs. The mayor, Mr. Thomas Philips, apprised of their approach, had taken prompt measures for the defence of the place.

"When the insurgents, about 8,000 strong, drew up in front of the Westgate

and the magistrates were equal to the emergency. The Riot Act having been read by the mayor amidst a shower of bullets, the soldiers charged their muskets, the shutters were opened, and the fighting began. A shower of slugs immediately poured in from the street, which wounded

Mr. Philips, and several other persons. But the soldiers opened a raking discharge upon the crowd without, and after a few rounds, by which a great many persons fell dead on the spot, the assailants broke and fled in all directions. Frost, Williams, and Jones were tried by a special commission at Monmouth, and found guilty of high treason. Sentence of death was pronounced upon them on the 16th of January, 1840, but on the 1st of February the sentence was commuted to transportation for life. A free pardon



A CONVICT'S CERTIFICATE OF FREEDOM (1838).

Inn, the principal point of attack, Frost commanded the special constables to surrender. On their refusal the word was given to fire, and a volley was discharged against the bow window of the room where the military were located, and at the same moment the rioters, with their pikes and other instruments, drove in the door and rushed into the passage. It was a critical moment, but the mayor

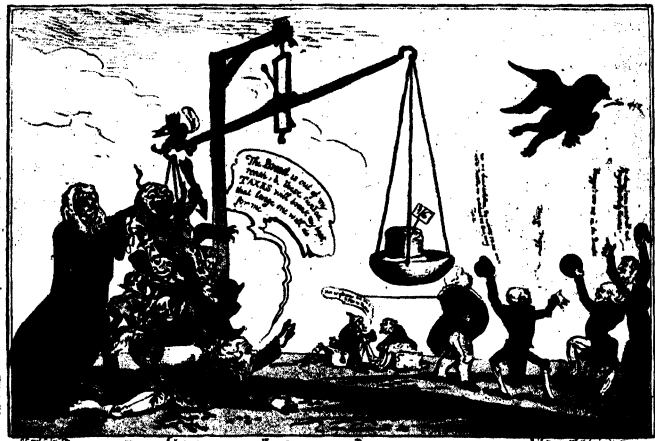
was granted to them on the 3rd of May, 1856, and they returned to England in the September following. Mayor Philips was knighted for his gallantry."

These and like events caused much alarm among the middle and upper classes, and especially among the former, whose daily life in the towns could not be dissociated from that of their humbler fellow-citizens. They realised with dread

that whatever repressive measures were taken by the Government, self-interest would compel them in the last resort to make peace with the turbulent agitators and admit them to some measure of political power. The wiser among them appreciated the justice of the democratic demands, and brought pressure upon the Government to give them more sympathetic attention. On the other hand, the violent section of the Chartists were compelled to admit that it was hopeless to try conclusions with a Ministry which did not hesitate to use the military arm. Social discord continued, but organised violence ceased, and a Dissolution in the summer of 1841 resulted in the return of a

majority pledged to the cheapening of bread by the relaxation of the Corn Laws. The Queen's Speech at the opening of the new Parliament required a consideration of the questions whether the principle of Protection had not been carried to an extent injurious to the State and to the people, and whether the Corn Laws did not aggravate the natural fluctuation of supply, embarrass trade, derange the currency, diminish the comforts, and increase the privations of the masses. Sir Robert Peel started his second Administration with an enunciation

of the principle of Free Trade. The social warfare was henceforth concentrated on the repeal of the Corn Laws, which existing conditions favoured. Into the history of this agitation it is not our purpose to enter. The labours of Villiers of Wolverhampton, of Cobden and Poulett-Thompson, of Colonel Thompson, the author of the "Catechism on the Corn Laws," of



The SCALE of JUSTICE Reversed

AN ANTI CORN-LAW CARTOON.
(From a Caricature by Cruikshank.)

Ebenezer Elliott, the rhymester of the movement, have received ample justice from many pens. All that need here be brought into relief is the terrible social condition of which the Chartist and Free Trade agitations were but expressions in different keys. The distress in England was severe and widespread. One-fourth of the population of Carlisle, for example, was confronted with imminent famine. Employment shrank alarmingly throughout the country. There was actual starvation in our streets. Elliott drew from life in his "Corn Law Rhymes":—

Child, is thy father dead?
 Father is gone!
 Why did they tax his bread?
 God's will be done!
 Mother has sold her bed;
 Better to die than wed:
 Where shall she lay her head?
 Home we have none!

Father clammed thrice a week,
 God's will be done!
 Long for work did he seek,
 Work he found none.
 Tears on his hollow cheek
 Told what no tongue could speak;
 Why did his master break?
 God's will be done!

Doctor said air was best—
 Food we had none;
 Father, with panting breast,
 Groaned to be gone.
 Now he is with the blest!
 Mother says death is best!
 We have no place of rest.
 Yes, ye have one!

That picture of one aspect of the life of England was all too true, and Peel, whose mind had been moving secretly but rapidly towards the Free Trade position, found himself compelled to act, whatever the rage and dismay of the majority of his Conservative supporters. It was on the day of the birth of the Prince of

Wales—the 9th of November, 1841—that he propounded a scheme for the reduction of the duties on corn imports. It was carried, and the first step thus taken in the cheapening of the food of the people.

The scheme provided for a sliding scale of duties according to the price of corn. It was ineffectual as a measure of immediate economic relief. The trade depression, the unemployment, the extremity of poverty among large masses of the people, the disaffection towards the Government, the disloyalty to the State if not also to the Crown, and industrial crime and social disorder continued unabated. The evils were aggravated by a marked falling off in revenue, which was used by the agricultural party as an argument against any further modification of the corn

duties. How could that source of revenue be diminished, much less dispensed with, they asked. But the Free Trade party were instructing the people in the principles of economics, and argued with effect and ever-increasing credence that it was not solicitude for the Revenue that lay behind that con-



A MODERN CERES: PEEL'S CORN LAW OF 1842.
 (Reproduced by Special Permission of the Proprietors of "Punch.")

tention, but anxiety for the retention and enhancement of the economic rent of land, and for the unchecked flow of wealth into the pockets of the landowners, at whatever cost to the welfare of the rest of the population. By 1843 they had carried on their agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws with so much success that the Ministry showed marked signs of yielding; several great noblemen and distinguished members of

movement was upward, and the interests, though they fought in Parliament and in the country with the energy of desperation, could not arrest its ascendant course. The deficient harvest of 1845, with its promise of still more acute distress in the winter, gave a piercing insistence to the cry of "Open the ports." It was impossible for the Government to close their ears. Peel and others in the Ministry of Free Trade tendencies forced



Photo: Emery Walker.
SIR ROBERT PEEL.
(By J. Linnell.)

the House of Commons had been won over to the cause of Free Trade. The noble and pathetic eloquence of Bright gave an impetus to the agitation, and led to the accession of landowners and financiers who had remained deaf to the cries for justice by reasoners and orators of lesser power. By flooding the country with pamphlets and the adroit organisation of an army of speakers, equipped alike with knowledge and intense conviction, an irresistible body of opinion was created. There were fluctuations in the fortunes of the cause, but the general

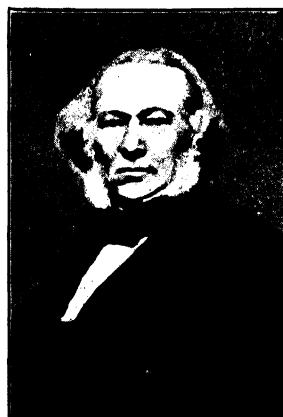
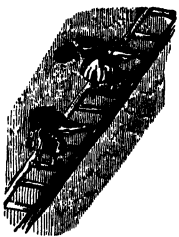


Photo: Elliott & Fry.
RICHARD COBDEN.

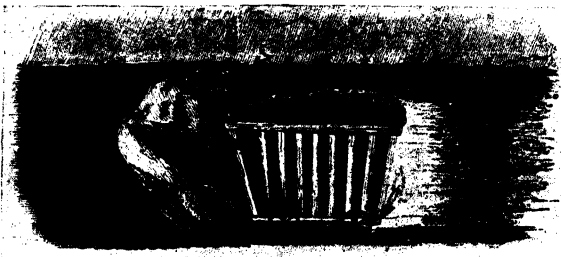
the matter to an issue at a special meeting of the Cabinet on the 31st of October by proposing a remission of the duty on grain in bond to one shilling, and the opening of the ports to the admission of all species of grain at a smaller rate of duty.

When Parliament reassembled Sir Robert Peel could carry with him only a minority of the Cabinet. But he determined to retain office. There were other Cabinet Councils, and on the 4th of December *The Times*, on secret information or by astute divination of purpose, announced



COAL CARRYING.

that it was the intention of the Government to repeal the Corn Laws altogether. On the 5th of December, however, the differences in the Cabinet compelled Sir Robert to resign, and bring his Administration to an end. Lord John Russell endeavoured, but failed, to form a Whig Government. Sir Robert resumed office, and Parliament reassembled on the 7th of January, 1846, to listen to his confession that he had abandoned the principle of Protection—a confession heard in dismayed silence by his Party and welcomed with triumphant cheers by the Opposition. A Government Bill, greatly reducing the rates of duties on imports of various kinds, and, on grain, drastically lowering the sliding scale until the 1st of February, 1849, and providing thereafter for only a nominal rate of duty, was carried in both Houses after a series of memorable debates. The victory had been won. Hope of a less dismal era had dawned for the poverty-stricken populace. The famine in Ireland, to which we shall presently refer, had given to the demand for the opening of the ports an imperative force.



COAL HAULING IN THE MINES.

Our object, however, is to present social facts rather than a review of political action; and to these we will now revert. The coal industry provided many ugly facts, which throw a lurid light on social conditions in the early years of the Prince. One historian presents the following graphic summary:—

"Upwards of 118,000 people were working in coal mines. In the county of Durham there were more persons thus employed underground than in cultivating the surface. It was a kind of work at which women and children could earn money, and in some of the collieries their labour was made available to a very large extent. It may be supposed that this practice entailed upon the boys and girls so employed the most serious evils, physical and moral. When this state of things began to attract public attention, an extensive inquiry was instituted by the Children's Employment Commission, which prepared three reports, presented to Parliament in 1842—the illustrations given on pages 100, 101, and 102, are taken from this Report. The Commissioners collected a large mass of evidence at the collieries which brought to light facts of the most astounding nature as to the cruelty and demoralisation connected with the employment of women and children

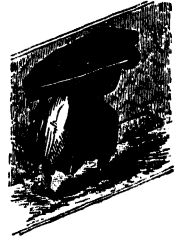
in coal mines. It seemed almost incredible that such practices could have existed in a civilised country, and showed the extent to which the thirst for gain will carry men, under circumstances where they can count upon impunity and evade the censure of public opinion. Lord Ashley

(or, to give his more popular title, the Earl of Shaftesbury) took up the subject with his usual earnestness in all questions affecting the welfare of the working classes, and in the Session of 1842 he brought in a Bill founded upon the reports of the Commission. The statement of facts with which he introduced the measure excited the astonishment and indignation of the House, and greatly shocked the moral sense of the country. The nature of the employment in which the children were engaged was calculated to brutalise them in every sense. They were obliged to crawl along the low passages with barely room for their persons in that posture, each dragging a load of coals in a cart by means of a chain which was fastened to a girdle borne round the waist, the chain passing between the legs. This they dragged through a passage often not as good as a common sewer, in an atmosphere almost stifling. At this sort of work girls were employed as well as boys, and they commonly worked quite naked down to the waist, their only dress being a pair of loose trousers, and in this condition they were obliged to serve adult colliers who worked without any clothing at all. The grossest immorality was the natural consequence. In Scotland a sub-commission found one little girl, six years of age, carrying an eight-stone weight, four-teen times a day, a journey equal in distance to the height of St. Paul's Cathedral. The Commissioner adds, 'And it

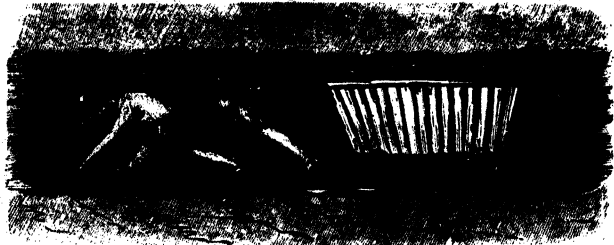
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not unfrequently happens that the tugs break, and the load falls upon those females who are following, who are, of course, struck off the ladders. However incredible it may be, yet I have taken the evidence of fathers who have ruptured themselves by straining to lift coals on to their children's backs.' The Bill of Lord Ashley was passed almost unanimously by the Commons. In the Lords it was subjected to considerable opposition, and some amendments were introduced. The amendments were adopted by the Commons, and on the 10th of August, 1842, the Act was passed "to prohibit the employment of women and girls in mines and collieries, to regulate the employment of boys, and to make other provisions relating to persons working therein." The Act prohibited the employment of any boys underground in a colliery who were under the age of ten years."

In Ireland, where, as we have already



COAL CARRYING.



CHILD LABOUR IN THE PIT.

seen, the Prince obtained, while still a child, an insight into the complex problems of that unhappy country, the conditions were even worse than in England; for the standard of life was lower; the relations between landowners and people were fierce, passionate, and revengeful; commerce and agriculture were alike in a trough of depression, and the superabundant population was struggling desperately to keep starvation at bay. Reform of the Poor Law in 1838 did something, though not much, to mitigate the distresses of the peasantry; and then, in 1845, there began the great famine which, either by death or emigration, half depopulated the country, and left effects upon the mentality of those who survived, and on their descendants, which have persisted until to-day. The peril to Irish life was not appreciated by the English Government, which saw in the Repeal agitation under O'Connell's leadership nothing but an intention to wrest independence by terrorism and force of arms. The minds of Ministers were concentrated upon that; on the apparent imminence of rebellion, on the prosecution of O'Connell, on the cancellation of his sentence by the House of Lords, on the fierce party debates on these questions which took place in Parliament. They did not realise how frail were the economic barriers between the

population and death by hunger, nor that the appearance of the potato blight meant that even the barriers were gone. Because the people of Ireland had for generations lived in chronic misery Ministers could not bring themselves to believe that the limits of human endurance had been passed. Notwithstanding the facts in the evidence of the Royal Commission of which the Earl of Devon was Chairman, they were lulled into a false security by a digest which suggested the dawn of improved conditions. Not until the famine had strewn the roadsides with dead did they do more than appoint a Commission of scientists to inquire into the causes which had converted the potato fields into wastes of putrefying vegetation. Not until the agents of the Relief Committee of the Society of Friends had, by their reports of what they had seen, excited the compassion of England, did the Government take effective steps to save what was left of the population. Relief works were started which absorbed four millions of public money, and were loosely administered. From 1846 to 1848 between two and three million people were kept alive by State relief and the aid of charitable associations at home and in America. Meanwhile the tide of emigration to the United States rose ever higher, and the Atlantic was the scene of an unending procession of vessels crowded to excess with Irish families fleeing from death, and from British citizenship, carrying with them an inextinguishable love of Ireland, but also a hatred of English rule.



IN THE COAL MINES, 1840: A TYPICAL INCIDENT.

But we are not writing a narrative of the calamity from the political point of view; if we were much more would need to be said of the early failure of English government to measure its magnitude, and of the partial breakdown in organising methods of relief. All we can hope to do is to suggest what sort of country Ireland was in the early years of the life of King Edward. Here is a picture drawn in the

spring of 1847 by an eye-witness, Mr. J. F. Maguire:—

"The famine now raged in every part of the afflicted country, and starving multitudes crowded the thoroughfares of the cities and large towns. Death was everywhere—in the cabin, on the highway, in the garret, in the cellar, and even on the flags or side-paths of the most public streets of the city. In the workhouses, to which the pressure of absolute starvation alone drove the destitute, the carnage was frightful. It was now increasing at prodigious pace. The number of deaths at the Cork workhouse in the last week of January, 1847, was 104. It increased to 128 in the first week in February, and in the second week of that month it reached 164; 396 in three weeks. During the month of April as many as thirty-six bodies



CHILDREN DURING THE FAMINE IN IRELAND.
(From the "Illustrated London News," 1847.)

were interred in one day in that portion of Father Mathew's cemetery reserved for the free burial of the poor; and this mortality was entirely independent of the mortality in the workhouse. During the same month there were 300 coffins sold in a single street in the course of a fortnight, and these were chiefly required for the supply of a single parish. From the 27th of December, in 1846, to the middle of April, in 1847,

the number of human beings that died in the Cork workhouse was 2,130! And in the third week of the following month the free interments in the Mathew cemetery totalled 277—as many as sixty-seven having been buried in one day. The destruction of human life in other workhouses of Ireland kept pace with the appalling mortality in the Cork workhouse. According to official returns, it had reached in April the weekly average

of twenty-five per 1,000 inmates; the actual number of deaths being 2,706 for the week ending the 3rd of April, and 2,613 in the following week. Yet the number of inmates in the Irish workhouses was but 104,455 on the 10th of April, the whole of the houses not having then been completed.

"More than 100 workhouse officers fell victims to the famine fever during



AT CLONAKILTY: "OF YOUR CHARITY I PRAY."
(From the "Illustrated London News.")

this fatal year, which also decimated the ranks of the Catholic clergy of the country. Mr. Trevelyan gives names of thirty English and Scottish priests who sacrificed their lives to their zealous attendance on the immigrant Irish, who carried the pestilence with them in their flight to other portions of the United Kingdom. Pestilence likewise slew its victims in the foetid hold of the emigrant ship, and, following them across the ocean, immolated them in thousands in the lazaretto houses that fringed the shores of Canada and the United States. The principal business of the time was in meal, and coffins, and passenger ships. A fact may be mentioned which should render further description of the state of the country needless. The Cork Patent Saw Mills had been at full work from December, 1846, to May, 1847, with twenty pairs of saws, constantly going from morning till night, cutting planks for coffins, and planks and scantlings for fever sheds, and for the framework of berths for emigrant ships."

The new workhouses were soon crowded; people in the last stages of hunger walked and crawled to them in hundreds, and died outside the walls. The new Poor Law Administration was overwhelmed and broke

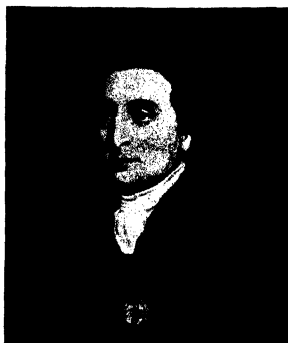


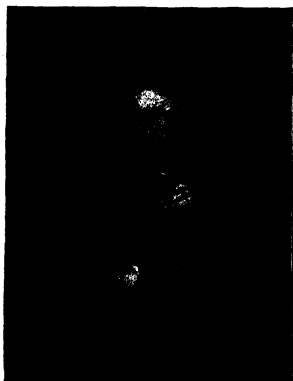
Photo: Emery Walker.
FATHER MATHEW.
(National Portrait Gallery.)

down pitifully. When typhus succeeded the famine the scenes on every hand were horrible. Here is a typical description from the report of an officer sent by the Board of Health to report on the workhouses in a typhus district:

"Language would fail to give an adequate idea of the state of the fever hospitals. Such an appalling, awful, and heart-sickening condition I never witnessed. . . . As I entered the house the stench that proceeded from it was most dreadful and noisome, but oh! what scenes presented themselves to my view as I proceeded through the wards and passages—patients lying on straw naked . . . in two beds, living beings . . . the dead beside them, in the same bed with them since the night before."

In the cabins the scenes were as distressing. Here is a sketch from life of a reputable citizen of Cork, who, in 1846, wrote to the Duke of Wellington. The letter was published on the 17th of December with startling effect upon the English mind. The writer personally investigated the stories which had reached him of the state of things on the eastern side of Castlehaven harbour:—

"Being aware that I should have to witness scenes of frightful hunger,



DANIEL O'CONNELL.
(From the Painting by Joseph Haverly in the possession of the Reform Club.)

I provided myself with as much bread as five men could carry, and on reaching the spot I was surprised to find the wretched cabins deserted. I entered some

covering what seemed a filthy horse-cloth, and their wretched legs hanging about naked above the knees. I approached in horror, and found by a low



IRISH EMIGRANTS BOUND FOR AMERICA.

of the hovels to ascertain the cause, and the scenes that presented themselves were such as no tongue or pen can convey the slightest idea of. In the first six famished and ghastly skeletons, to all appearances dead, were huddled in a corner on some filthy straw, their sole

moaning they were alive—*they were in fever*—four children and a woman, and what had once been a man. It is impossible to go through the details. Suffice it to say, that in a few minutes I was surrounded by at least two hundred of such phantoms, such frightful spectres as no

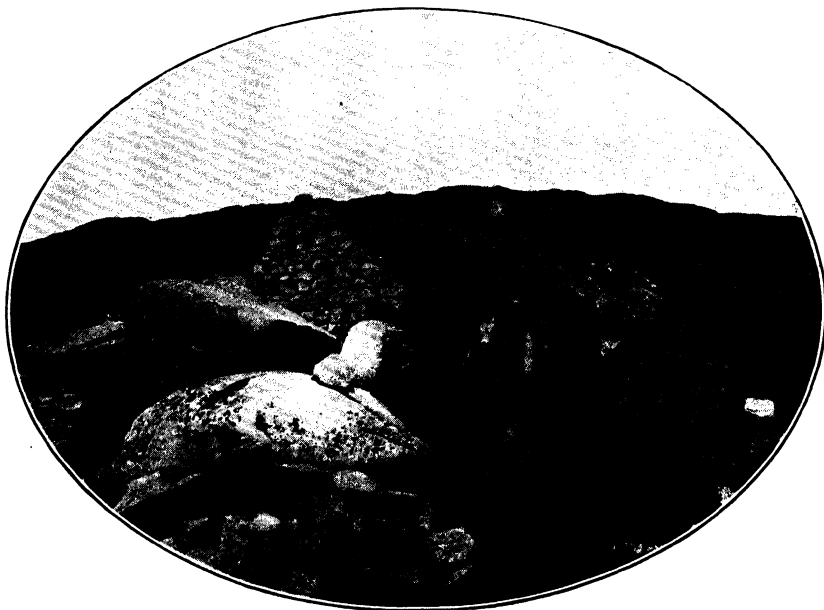
words can describe. By far the greater number were delirious, either from famine or from fever. Their demoniac yells are still ringing in my ears, and their horrible images are fixed in my brain. My heart sickens in the recital, but I must go on. In another case—decency would forbid what follows, but it must be told—my clothes were nearly torn off in my endeavours to escape from the throng of pestilence. . . . My neckcloth was seized from behind by a grip which compelled me to turn. I found myself grasped by a woman with an infant just born in her arms, and the remains of a filthy sack across her loins—the sole covering of herself and babe. The same morning the police opened a house on the adjoining land which was observed shut for many days, and two frozen corpses were found lying on the mud floor, *half devoured by rats*. A mother, herself in fever, was seen the same day to drag out the corpse of her girl, a child about twelve, perfectly naked, and leave it half covered with stones. In another house within five hundred yards of the cavalry station at Skibbereen, the dispensary doctor found seven wretches, unable to move, lying under the same cloak—one had been dead many hours, but the others were unable to move either themselves or the corpse."

Enough of these harrowing details. The aftermath of the famine was scarcely less terrible, for what was left of the peasant population in the south and west was utterly demoralised. Crime was rampant against the landowning class, and the first business of the new Government of 1848 was to pass repressive measures and appoint a special Commission of Judges to do the work juries

could not be found to do. O'Connell had died in 1847, and the leadership of the disaffected had been seized by advocates of rebellion. The revolution in Paris, by which Louis Philippe had been overthrown, stimulated conspiracies of violence, and throughout the spring of 1848 civil war was imminent in Ireland. Insurrection was actually begun at Mullinahone, with Mr. Smith O'Brien as leader of the pikemen, and there was a conflict with the semi-military police on Boulagh Common on the 29th of July, when eighteen rebels were killed and many wounded. But the priests held back the people—a course they have on the whole steadily followed since the Rebellion of 1798—and the beacon fires on the hill-sides were lighted in vain. The rebellion delayed the recovery of Ireland, but it combined with the horrors of the famine years to compel the Government to devise remedial legislation touching the economic causes of disaffection. The Encumbered Estates Act was the first of a series of measures which, after half a century of crime and disorder in Ireland, and fierce controversy in Parliament, were to culminate in Acts for the purchase of the land of Ireland by the peasantry. On that something will have to be said in a later volume. Meanwhile it should be stated that the events we have narrated must have been known in outline to the Prince of Wales—or as much of them as his parents thought it desirable he should know; for in the autumn of 1849, towards the end of his eighth year he accompanied the Queen and Prince Consort on the visit they paid as further evidence of the new policy of pacification. The Princess Royal, Prince Alfred and the Princess Alice were also

of the party. From Cowes a Royal squadron convoyed the *Victoria and Albert* to the south coast of Ireland, where the yacht anchored by Cove, now known as Queenstown in honour of Her Majesty, who there for the first time

and call it "Queenstown," and when she left the pavilion the first flag was pulled down and another erected in its stead, with the new name. Thus the old name of "Cove" was extinguished by the Queen's visit, just as the old name of



THE HOME OF THE IRISH PEASANT.

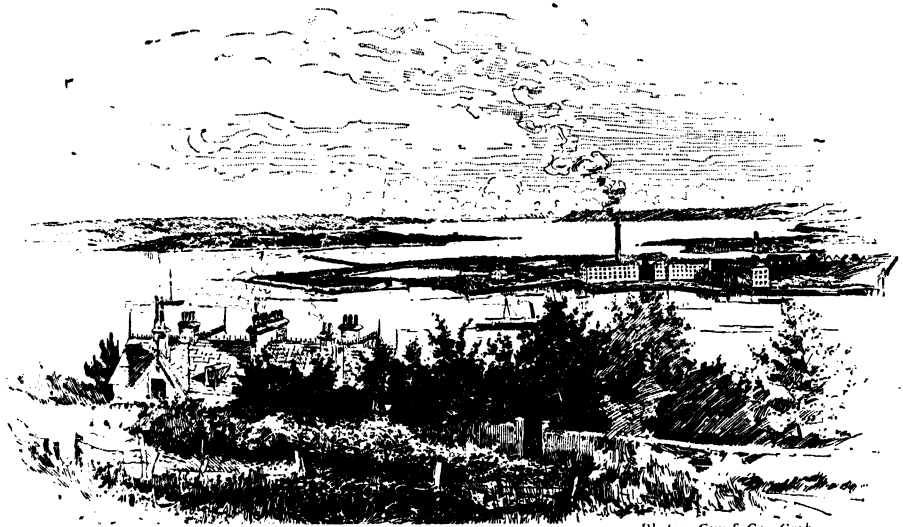
Photo: R. Welch, Belfast.

set foot on Irish soil. The scenes and incidents which followed are described in "Cassell's Illustrated History of England," in a manner which will enable the reader to imagine the impressions they produced in the mind of the Heir Apparent:—

A pavilion had been erected for Her Majesty's reception, and over it floated a banner, with the word "Cove" emblazoned upon it. The Queen had consented, at the request of the inhabitants, to change the name of the place

"Dunleary" had been extinguished by the visit of George IV.

The Royal party then proceeded up the beautiful river Lee, to the city of Cork, hailed by cheering crowds at every point along the banks where a sight of the Queen could be obtained. All the population of the capital of Munster seemed to have turned out to do homage to their Sovereign. A procession was quickly formed. The Queen and the Royal Family occupied carriages lent for the occasion by Lord Bandon. The



VIEW OF QUEENSTOWN HARBOUR IN 1890.

Photo: Guy & Co., Cork.

procession passed under several beautiful triumphal arches, erected at different points. The public buildings and many private houses were adorned with banners of every hue, evergreens, and all possible signs of rejoicing. The windows, balconies, and all available positions were crowded by the citizens, cheering and waving their hats and handkerchiefs. When this ceremony had been gone through, the Queen returned to the *Victoria and Albert* in Queenstown Harbour. At night the whole of that town was brilliantly illuminated. In Cork, also, the public buildings and the principal streets were lit up in honour of Her Majesty's visit. Her Majesty, before she departed, was pleased to say to Sir Thomas Deane that "nothing could be more gratifying" than her reception.

About ten o'clock on the morning of the 4th of August the squadron weighed

anchor for Dublin Bay. They passed that night in Waterford Harbour, and arrived at Kingstown on the afternoon of the following day. When the Queen appeared on deck there was a tremendous burst of cheering, which was renewed again and again, especially when the *Victoria and Albert*, amidst salutes from yachts and steamers, swung round at anchor, head to wind. At that time it is calculated that there must have been 40,000 people present. Monday, the 6th of August, was an auspicious day for the Irish metropolis. It opened with a brilliant sun, and from an early hour all the population of Dublin seemed astir. Trains began to run to Kingstown as early as half-past six, and from that hour to noon the multitudes poured in by sea and land in order to see and welcome their Queen. The Earl of Clarendon (the Lord-Lieutenant), Lady Clarendon, Prince George of Cambridge,

the Marquis of Lansdowne, Sir Edward Blakeney, Commander of the Forces, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Duke of Leinster, the chief judges, and a number of peers and leading gentry arrived early to welcome the Sovereign. There was also a deputation from the county of Dublin, consisting of the High Sheriff, Mr. Ennis, Lords Charlemont, Brabazon, Howth, Monck, Roebuck, and others. The Queen landed at ten o'clock. The excitement and tumultuous joy at that moment cannot be described. There was a special train in waiting to convey the Queen to Dublin, which stopped at Sandymount Station, where the procession was to be formed. In addition to the innumerable carriages waiting to take their places, there was a cavalcade of the gentry of the county and a countless multitude of pedestrians. The procession began to move soon afterwards, passing over Ball's Bridge and on through Baggot Street. At Baggot Street Bridge the city gate was erected. All was enthusiasm, exultation, and joy. Nobody could then have imagined that only one short year before there had been in this very city bands of rebels arming themselves against the Queen's authority. All traces of rebellion, disaffection, discontent and misery were forgotten in that demonstration of loyalty.

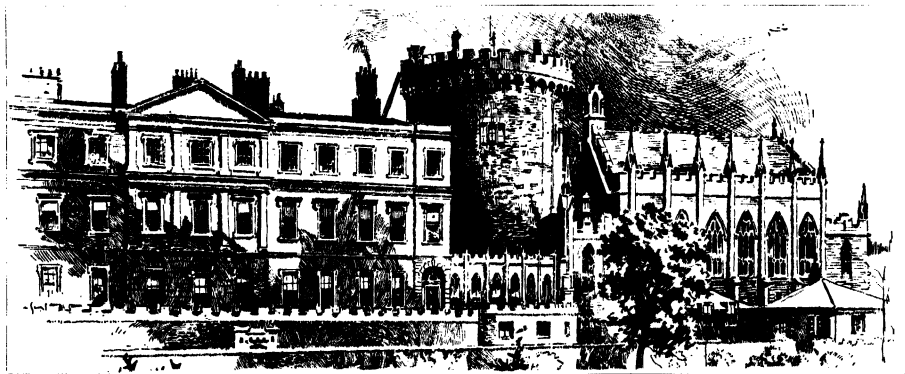
On Monday night the whole city was brilliantly illuminated. The excitement of the multitude had time to cool next day, for it rained incessantly from morning till night. But the rain did not keep the Queen indoors. She was out early through the city, visiting the Bank of Ireland, the National Model Schools, the University, and the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham. There she

cheered the hearts of the brave old pensioners by saying, "I am glad indeed to see you all so comfortable." The illuminations were repeated this evening with, if possible, increased splendour, and the streets were filled with people in every direction, all behaving in the most orderly manner. Her Majesty held a Lèvee in Dublin Castle on Wednesday, which was attended by unprecedented numbers. On Thursday she witnessed a grand review in the Phoenix Park, and held a Drawing-room in the Castle in the evening. The Queen left Dublin on Friday evening, followed to the railway station by immense multitudes, cheering and blessing as only enthusiastic Celts can cheer and bless. The scene at the embarkation in Kingstown Harbour was very touching. The whole space and the piers were crowded as when she arrived. The cheering and waving of handkerchiefs seemed to affect Her Majesty as the Royal yacht moved slowly out towards the extremity of the pier near the lighthouse. She left the two ladies-in-waiting with whom she was conversing on deck, ran up to the paddle-box, and, taking her place beside Prince Albert, she gazed upon the scene before her, graciously waving her hand in response to the parting salutations of her loyal Irish subjects. She appeared to give some order to the commander, the paddles immediately ceased to move, and the vessel merely floated on; the Royal Standard was lowered in courtesy to the cheering thousands on shore; and this stately obeisance was repeated five times. This incident produced a deep impression on the hearts of the people, and it was this picture that dwelt longest in their minds.

After a rough passage the squadron arrived, at three in the morning, in Carrickfergus Road, about seven miles from Belfast. The water in the channel was not deep enough for the *Victoria and Albert*, and the Royal party went on board the *Fairy* tender, in which they rapidly glided up the lough, and anchored at the quay, where they landed in order to see the town. Loyal mottoes told, in every form of expression, the welcome of the inhabitants of the capital of Ulster. An arch of grand proportions, richly decorated with floral ornaments and waving banners, spanned the High Street. Her Majesty visited the Queen's College and the Linen Hall. Although a flourishing city, Belfast had not then much to boast of architecturally, and therefore there was not much to be seen. The numerous mills about the town would remind the Queen more of Lancashire than of Ireland, giving her assurance by that same token that Ulster was the most industrious and most prosperous province of the Emerald Isle. If, in Cork, where O'Connell had been obeyed almost as Sovereign of the coun-

try, the Queen was hailed with such enthusiastic devotion, how intense must have been the loyal demonstrations in a town out of which the Repeal chief was obliged to fly secretly, to avoid being stoned to death.

We have endeavoured to suggest to the mind the social condition of England and of Ireland during the childhood of Edward VII.; and in such fashion as will have disclosed the causes of the steady improvement which took place in the material well-being of the English people during his early manhood. It was inevitable that recovery from so terrible a calamity as the famine should be so slow that Ireland lagged far and painfully behind the rest of the Kingdom. There the outlook continued to be dark. The facts here set forth as to both countries are dismal indeed; but it should be borne in mind that they are not all the facts. They are merely some of the facts selected in order to assist the reader to contrast the condition of the Realm during the years of King Edward's reign with that of the first decade of his life.



DUBLIN CASTLE AND CHAPEL ROYAL.

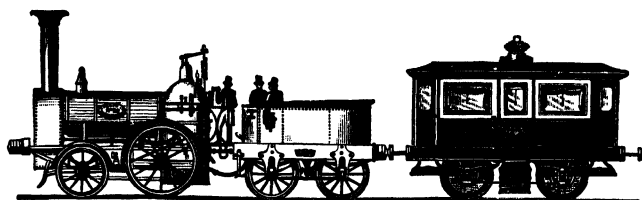
CHAPTER VII

ENGLAND IN EDWARD'S CHILDHOOD—SOME OTHER ASPECTS

The Passing of the Stage Coach—Seatless, Roofless Railway Coaches—First Steamships Across the Atlantic—Progress in the Navy—The Coming of the Ironclad—Jack Tar put into Uniform—Abolition of Flogging in the Navy—The Advent of the Breech-loader—The Volunteer Movement in England and Scotland—London Lit by Gas—The Manufacturing Centres Follow Suit—The Electric Telegraph—Its Value Demonstrated—The Five Needle Machine—The Laying of the Dover-Calais Cable.

THE politico-industrial condition of these islands has been surveyed to the exclusion of many aspects of intellectual activity which were to enrich the life of the people during the manhood of the Prince of Wales. Some of these we shall now lightly touch in order to suggest vivid contrasts of a social character. When the Prince of Wales was born the country was full of old gentlemen who had never been on a railway, and never would go, lest they be hurled to their death down an embankment or asphyxiated in a tunnel. The stage coach still ran on the roads, and the guard still made the air re-echo with the blasts of his horn—though it must often have been with a heart as heavy as that of the cabman in our own time, conscious of eventual supersession by the taxi. The Liverpool and Manchester and the London and Birmingham Railways still carried their third-class passengers in open trucks without seats, with the occasional death of a passenger from exposure to the elements, combined with fright at his own daring in using so novel and perilous a means of travel. The battle of the broad gauge had not yet been fought out. The idea that a uniform gauge was necessary or would

become so, and that there would be a linking up of lines and an interchange of traffic between the railways had not so much as entered the heads of the directors of the Great Western Railway; and when it was put there they opposed it on the ground that the West of England was so unlike the rest of the country that traffic from other regions would not seek their line. George Stephenson had been more far-sighted. "What gauge shall I use?" Joseph Locke had asked him before he laid the Canterbury-Whitstable line. "Make it the same as mine," replied Stephenson. "Though they may be a long way apart now, depend upon it that they will be joined together some day." But Stephenson was ahead of his time. Not until 1846 was an Act passed regulating the gauge of new railways, and not until 1892 was the last section of broad track converted into the narrow gauge. It was as late as 1846 that a Bill was passed for the construction of the Great Northern Line. The London, Chatham and Dover and the Midland projects did not mature until 1861 and 1868 respectively. When the Prince was born the country was but half way through the work of laying the foundations of



THE ROYAL TRAIN OF 1843.

its present railway system. The application of steam to locomotion was but producing the immense social changes now regarded as though they had been part of the established order of things for centuries. The Prince was a boy of four when the financial crash came from over-speculation in railway stock. There had been nothing like it since the bursting of the South Sea bubble. If a few made fortunes many were ruined. Still, the work of construction went on. It is worth noticing that the Prince Consort was one of the first to set himself to calm the fears and prejudices of conservative travellers, for he used the line from Windsor almost as soon as it was opened. The Queen made her first journey in June, 1842. An aged reader will probably be able to remember whether the toy makers thus early made toy trains; if they did the Royal nursery would quickly have been furnished with them. Mamma's journey must have been an event of wonder to "Princey" and "Pussy." Were they taken to see the Queen "off"? Whether or not, a railway was a new factor in the life of England; so new, indeed, that half the population had only heard of railways, and there were children then born who were to live for more than half a century without ever seeing a train or even a steam engine, stationary or not. Country gentlemen

still opposed this or that railway because it would interfere with the fox coverts. In remote rural districts there was no conception of the change going on over the face of the England and of the social effects of so great an increase in the mobility of its inhabitants. The bicycle was to come, and the motor-car, though there were a few "dandy horses" on the road, and Dalzell, a Scottish cooper, had constructed a machine—the forerunner of the modern "safety"—on which he had outstripped a mail-coach over a ten-mile length of road: the roads of England were not as they now are, a steam roller being quite a new thing to many a road authority. Imagine an England with some of the existing trunk lines being made; an England without a motor-waggon, motor-car or bicycle, pedalled or driven, and the reader will have gone far in imagining the England of the early years of Edward VII.

On the sea the wooden sailing ships were being put out of date by the iron clippers, which were thought to have attained an almost miraculous speed under full sail if they had a run at the rate of fifteen knots an hour. In the first decade of the nineteenth century coasting paddle steamers appeared on lakes and in harbours, and out of the latter they would emerge in fine weather and creep along the coast. The first trans-

atlantic journey made by a steamer from England was in 1838, though in 1819, the *Savannah*, under sail and steam, had crossed in twenty-six days, from New York to Liverpool. Our grandfathers gasped with astonishment when they heard of a monster of four hundred horse-power—the *Great Western*—getting from Bristol to New York in fourteen days. The propeller was yet to come into use; the turbine engine was undreamt of. Her Majesty's Fleet was mainly a fleet of "wooden walls"; the Mercantile Marine consisted of two-deckers and iron clippers until long after the Prince of Wales was a man. He witnessed in youth that transition from sail to steam which now makes the ocean traveller think himself amazingly fortunate if he sees a great sailing ship go past—moving like a thing of life, a picture of majestic grace.

Once it was entered upon, the change proceeded rapidly. "Improvements in the *matériel* of the Fleet"—says a writer in "The Building of Britain and the Empire"—"were introduced with ever-increasing frequency. The use of iron, presently to be superseded by steel, for the construction of hulls and for armouring; the general adoption of the screw; the accelerated speed of ships; the development of the power and accuracy of the gun; and the invention of the Whitehead torpedo are matters of general

history; but there were hundreds of minor improvements of a not less significant character, and these affected almost every operation that is performed on board a man-of-war. Steam began to be employed not merely for propelling ships, but also for pumping them; for propelling their boats; for hoisting their boats in and out; for weighing anchor; and, in short, for doing all sorts of subsidiary work. Hydraulic power was next called in for many purposes, notably for loading heavy guns, for turning them in their turrets or barbettes, for elevating and depressing them, for controlling their recoil, and sometimes for hoisting up to them their powder and shell, and for placing these within them. As the period now being dealt with closed, a tendency was exhibited towards the supersession of even steam and hydraulic power, for certain purposes, by electricity. This power had already taken over the lighting of ships, and, to a limited degree, the transmission of orders and signals

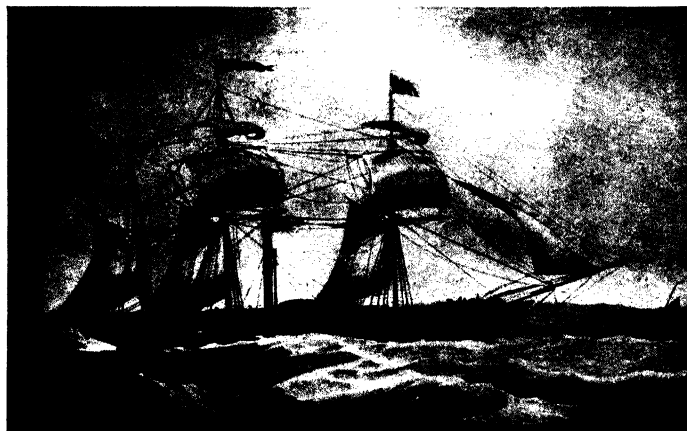


RAILWAY TRAVELLING IN 1850.

from one part of them to another. The ancient practice of heaving the log with a view to ascertaining the speed of a vessel, though persisted in, was to a large extent superseded by the introduction of various mechanical self-registering devices, driven for the most part by the automatic revolutions of a screw trailing astern of the moving ship. Improvements in the compass and in deep-sea sounding appa-

disappeared from vessels of war; double bottoms and cellular methods of construction became the rule rather than the exception, and wire ropes took the place of many of the hempen ones for the support of such masts as remained, while the lower masts themselves were cylinders of iron or steel."

As for the *personnel* of the Navy, it was recruited in haphazard fashion, though there was an Officers' Academy at Portsmouth, through which it was not, however, compulsory to pass. The system of giving cadets a thorough training which would fit them for the Navy alone is not of older date than 1885. When the Naval Academy at Portsmouth was closed in 1837



THE BRITISH QUEEN (1839).
By permission of James Napier, Esq.

ratus were introduced by Sir William Thomson (afterwards Lord Kelvin) signalling from ship to ship was facilitated by the adoption of better codes and an increased number of flags for the purpose, as well as by the use of Colomb's system of flashing longs and shorts at night, in accordance with the principles of the Morse alphabet, and by the development of the semaphore: and the whole scheme of naval tactics underwent revision. The effective internal subdivision of ships became one of the chief aims of the naval architect; sails and rigged masts slowly

there succeeded "a system by which volunteers, later called Naval Cadets, were entered on board large sea-going ships, which carried naval instructors to attend to their technical education. Special training-ships were next established at Portsmouth and Devonport, and in one of these, after passing a preliminary examination at the Royal Naval College at Portsmouth, the cadet was required to serve and study for three months and to qualify, ere being sent to sea. Finally, a single training-ship was considered to be sufficient. The Portsmouth one was



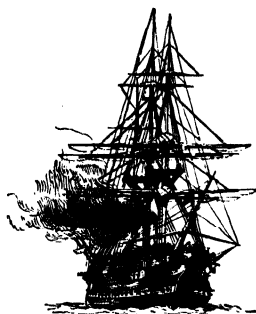
THE GREAT EASTERN PROCEEDING DOWN THE ENGLISH CHANNEL UNDER SAIL AND STEAM.

From the Painting in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

chosen, and at the end of 1858 the then existing vessel there, the *Illustrious*, not being considered suitable, and further changes in the direction of improving the course of training being contemplated, the *Britannia* was assigned to do the duty. She was a fine 120-gun ship, that had been built in 1820, and had served as one of the flag-ships in the Black Sea during the Russian War. She was altered, and was commissioned for her new work on the 1st of January, 1859, since which date the cadets' training-ship has always borne her name. The original vessel was moved to Portland in 1862, and thence, in the following year, to Dartmouth." It was here that the present Sovereign, His Majesty King George V., received his naval training. But this is to leap ahead. As for the men, be it far from us to say a reproachful word to the old type of sea-dog, who made up in valour what he lacked in sobriety and gentleness; but it is not unjust to say that when King Edward was a boy all the lusty rascality of the country found in the Services a means of livelihood, and that in the competition for this class the Navy beat the Army, despite a savage discipline maintained by frequent floggings. Lord Roberts, on his return from South Africa in 1900, declared that he had commanded there an army of gentlemen; much the same thing could now be said of the lower ratings of the Navy, so remarkable has been the advance in personal virtues other than dare-devil courage; but in the 'forties and 'fifties "Jack" was a sorry scamp whether ashore or afloat. His engagements were casual, his service short and intermittent. Apart from the excitement of an occasional fight with an enemy, or with a companion below deck, his life was made attractive

to him only by the liberality with which rum was served. It was not until 1852 that service was made continuous, and the Royal Navy offered a career for life during the years of physical efficiency. It was only after the war in the Crimea that the seaman was put into a uniform. The abolition of flogging for ordinary offences a few years after drew into the Navy a better class of men—not better fighters, for there could be none better than those of the old breed, who had inherited the Elizabethan traditions of the Service, but men of sobriety and orderly life. On the mechanical side the developments in gunnery brought into existence classes of highly skilled men; while below deck the introduction of engines and boilers, and the substitution of steam power for human strength in the working of the ship and its armament, filled the fleet with artificers and stokers. The late Sir W. Laird Clowes thus sketches the "growth of the gun" during the nineteenth century:

"The peace of 1815 left the 'great gun' very nearly where it had been a hundred years earlier. There had been no important increase in weight; and the only considerable improvements in naval gunnery had been the introduction of the carronade, or 'smasher,' for throwing comparatively heavy shot for short distances at a low velocity; and the adoption of the gun-lock in lieu of the various primitive arrangements for igniting the priming of the charge by means of red-hot irons, smouldering rope-ends, etc. The use of shells had also become more general, and the shell itself had been improved, though it was still employed almost exclusively in mortars. But as the century verged upon its middle age,

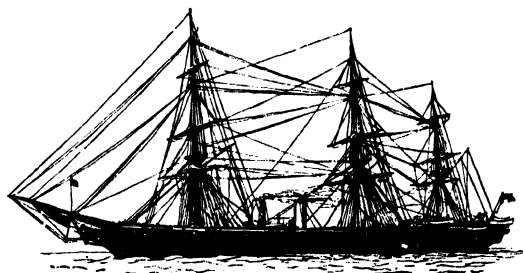


H.M.S. HERO, 1855.

attention began to be directed to the problem of the diminution of windage in heavy guns, with a view to obtaining greater accuracy and velocity by utilising as much as possible of the elastic force of the explosion, and allowing as little as possible of it to pass the projectile and escape without doing its due share of the work. In certain small-arms the problem had long before been dealt with by the adoption of the device of rifling the interior of the barrel, and giving to the grooves of the rifling a slight turn, which was found to increase accuracy by imparting a twist to the bullet. In the old muzzle-loading rifles the bullet was hammered or violently forced, down upon the powder ; but very little experiment showed that it would be vain to attempt to do with an iron projectile, weighing perhaps 68 lb., what could be done, with comparatively small labour, with a leaden bullet weighing a few grains. Whitworth and others therefore devised an elongated bolt or projectile which, instead of being forced into the bore, was of size and shape to permit of its being pushed home with little exertion, but which, nevertheless, acquired a twisting motion in its flight by reason of some peculiar correspondence between a cross-section of the projectile and a cross-section of the bore of the gun, the bore being itself twisted. Whit-

1*

worth's section was hexagonal ; the section chosen by Lancaster was slightly oval. Yet still, as the projectile could not fit with more than approximate accuracy, there was much windage ; and at length it became obvious that if windage was to be reduced to the lowest practicable point, the gun must be loaded not by the muzzle, but by the breech. Sir William Armstrong, about 1858, was the first in England to turn the conclusion to advantage by the invention of his first breech-loader. This was a tube cut into near its rear end so as to admit of the dropping-in of a wedge or breech block, which then filled the aperture and closed the bore. A hollow screw, working in the tube from the rear, pressed the wedge home and held it fast. The gun, therefore, soon came to be known as the Armstrong screw-gun. But the system, though embodying great improvement, proved unsatisfactory, owing to the tendency of the wedge to jump out of its place upon the firing of a gun ; and for a time there was a reversion to muzzle-loaders. Some of these, especially after the introduction of Armstrong's plan of building them up, instead of constructing them in one or two heavy pieces, were very large, and, all things considered, very powerful weapons ; and towards the close of the muzzle-loading era, guns of



H.M.S. WARRIOR, 1861.

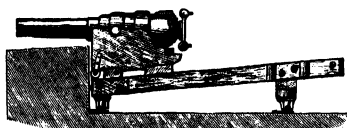
this description, weighing as much as 80 tons, and having a calibre of 16 inches in diameter, were turned out for the Navy. Four of them were mounted in the battleship *Inflexible*, which was launched in 1876, and which did good work with them at the bombardment of Alexandria six years later. Before long, however, the difficulties in the way of securing a completely satisfactory breech arrangement were solved by Sir William Armstrong; and, after the opposition of prejudice and habit had been overcome, the year 1881 witnessed the launch of the *Conqueror*, the first British battleship armed exclusively with modern breech-loaders."

But we need not follow the later developments. Sufficient will have been said to suggest the changes which science and invention, and new standards of social conduct afloat, were making in the Navy in the early decades of King Edward's life. In the Army there was no corresponding change during this period because there was no such compelling impetus to change as was furnished by the introduction and extended use of steam in the Navy. The war with Russia, however, was to demonstrate that reform was imperative in our military organisation. But the old school was able to resist effective reform until there arose in Mr. Cardwell (created a Viscount later) a war minister with an organising brain and a will power sufficiently strong to break down opposition. The abolition of the system by which officers obtained

their commissions by purchase and the organisation of the Army on the basis of short service in territorial units belong to a later period. It was not until 1870 that these reforms were begun. Breech-loaders were used for the first time in Europe in 1864. Until then both arms and tactics—and tactics necessarily alter with every increase in the range and destructive efficiency of gun and rifle and in the rapidity with which troops can be moved—were very much as they were in the Napoleonic wars. It needed the swift

conquest of the Austrian army by Prussia and the wholesale slaughter of great masses of men on the soil of France four years later to convince England that she must not only reorganise her land forces but also equip them with the new weapons which the inventive genius of the age had provided. But all that lies beyond the

period we are now considering. The Volunteer movement does, however, fall within it, for the Prince was a youth of nineteen when distrust of Louis Napoleon's intrigues in Europe, the bellicose conduct of Prussia and a welter of complications on the continent, produced an apprehension that we might at any moment be drawn into a life and death struggle and have to resist an invasion. Not that we would suggest that there was anything new in the Volunteer movement of that time. It was but a revival of the old spirit which had filled England with "fencibles" when Napoleon had his camp at Boulogne in the last



ARMSTRONG'S GUN AND PLATFORM - ELEVATION.



ARMSTRONG BREECH-LOADING 110-POUNDER

A, VENT PIECE. B, HANDLE TO VENT PIECE. C, BREECH AND BREECH SOWEN.

DIAGRAMS OF THE ARMSTRONG GUN.

years of the eighteenth century ; but it marked a new stage in volunteering, inasmuch as the citizen soldiery became a permanent force, despite War Office disfavour and the ridicule of the street boy. It was in 1857 that Tennyson wrote the call to arms which made the young men of the country demand that they be drilled and trained to the use of the rifle :—

Form ! be ready to do or die !

Form ! in Freedom's name and the Queen's !
True, that we have a faithful ally,

But only the Devil knows what he means.

who camped on Wimbledon Common and on the plain at Holyrood the founders of the body which, as the Territorial forces, has been incorporated by Mr. Haldane into the Army and is now the base of our military system—the reservoir, to change the metaphor, from which an expedition of exclusively professional soldiers is to be supplied in war with a continuous flow of trained men :—

“ The feeling of mistrust against



1809



1828



1832



1854

ARMY UNIFORMS OF THE PERIOD.

That hit at Louis Napoleon, who was at the bottom of much of the foreign trouble in Europe, because of his ambition to break through the frontier limits imposed on France by the Powers after Waterloo, was an effective stroke in the martial lines. The writer of “ The Life and Times of Queen Victoria ” gives an account of the association of the Royal family with this movement, which will serve to suggest the variety it brought into the life and thought of the young manhood of the nation. The reader will see in the Volunteers

France had given a strong impetus to the Volunteer movement in the country, and in 1860 this found vent in the great review of the citizen army in Hyde Park, and the formation of the National Rifle Association at Wimbledon. The review was held on the 23rd of June, and 20,000 men from all parts of the country attended. Queen Victoria appeared on the ground at four o'clock in the afternoon with the King of the Belgians, the Princess Alice, and Prince Arthur, the Prince Consort riding beside her carriage. In two hours it was over—belying the

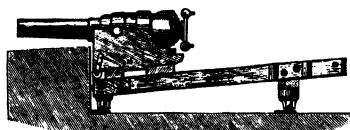
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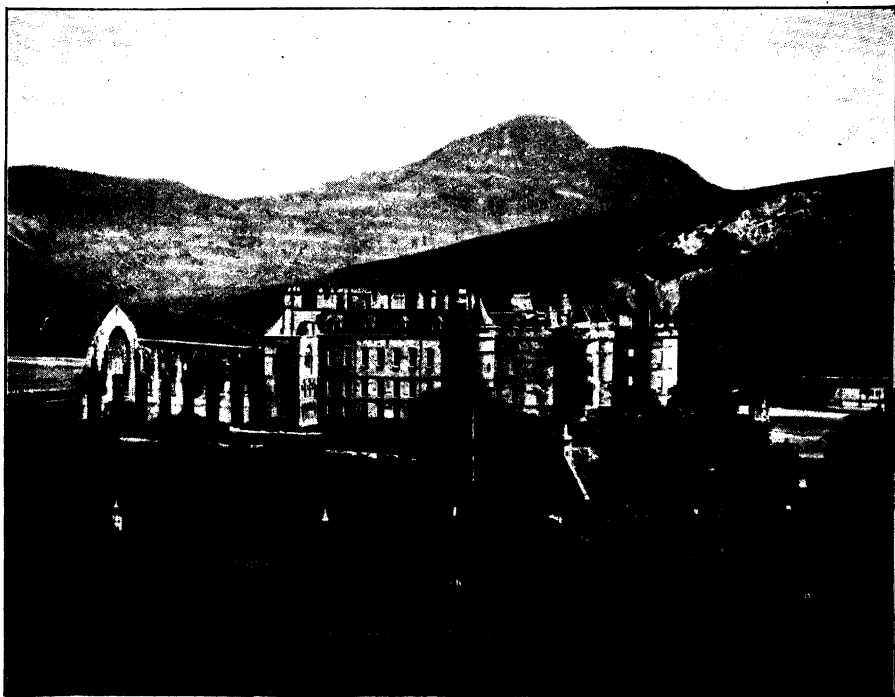
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Duke of Wellington's historic doubt whether we had a general who could get so many men into Hyde Park and out again without 'clubbing' and confusion. Lord Malmesbury says, 'I went to Disraeli's house in Grosvenor Gate to see

the Queen," they raised a cheer that might be heard for miles. This was taken up by the spectators, and the scene was so exciting that Queen Victoria was quite overcome, and I saw many people the same.' On the 7th of July the



HOLYROOD PALACE.

Photo: Inglis, Edinburgh.

the sight, which was very fine. The enthusiasm of the men and spectators exceeded all description. There were 20,000 Volunteers, all young men between eighteen and thirty. They went through their evolutions with the greatest steadiness and precision, and at the final advance in line, when they halted within a short distance of the Queen, and the bands had ceased playing "God Save

Queen opened the first meeting of the National Rifle Association on Wimbledon Common, under the first sunny summer sky of a peculiarly bleak season. Mr. (afterwards Sir Joseph) Whitworth* had adjusted one of his rifles so neatly that

* This great inventor and armourer had been offered £10,000 a year for life by Napoleon III. if he would go to France and manufacture his new cannon exclusively for the French. The offer was refused from patriotic motives.

when Her Majesty pulled the trigger and fired the first shot at 400 yards she scored a bull's-eye. Her own prize, conferring the Champion Marksmanship of England on the winner, was carried off by Mr. Edward Ross, of the 7th North York Rifles, with a score of twenty-four points—the greatest possible score being sixty. The public interest in the meeting, which was, in a sense, a great volunteer picnic, was indicated by the fact that the admission money (1s. a head) taken in six days from visitors amounted to £2,000.

"The growth of the Volunteer Force was striking. The Army sneered at it, and in December, 1859, it was in a sickly condition. In March, 1860, to the surprise and delight of the Queen it had grown to be 70,000 strong, and at a levee she held for volunteer officers, 2,500 were presented to her. Before the end of the summer the force had increased to 180,000 men, and at the close of the year it had grown to be 200,000, and this, too, in spite of the fact that the recruits had to make their first acquaintance with military duties in a spring and summer notable for stormy and inclement weather.

"Later in the season (7th of August) a grand review of the Scottish Volunteers was held in the Queen's Park, Edinburgh, where the smooth plain on which Holyrood stands, picturesquely surrounded by hills and crags, forms a natural amphitheatre admirably adapted for the popular enjoyment of a military pageant. All Scotland, so to speak, swarmed into Edinburgh to be present at the scene, and contingents even from the Orkneys and Shetlands and the 'storm-tossed Hebrides' were represented in the ranks of the great citizen army of the northern kingdom.

It was said at the time that Scotland—always a military nation—must have a mania for Volunteering, because she sent more troops to the review than passed the Queen at Hyde Park. The Queen herself remarked this fact, and her suite, who had seen the display in Hyde Park, were struck with the superior *physique* and drill of the men, though somewhat surprised that the Highland costume was worn by so few even of the Highland Regiments. The Queen was accompanied by her mother, the Duchess of Kent, then living at Cramond, near Edinburgh, the Prince Consort, the Princess Alice, and Prince Arthur. The Prince Consort rode on the right of her carriage, and the Duke of Buccleuch, as Captain of the Royal Bodyguard of Scottish Archers—a corps consisting entirely of nobles and gentlemen, who have the exclusive right of watching over the Royal person north of the Tweed—rode on the left hand. The programme was the same as at Hyde Park, but the surroundings and the enthusiasm of the troops and the myriads of spectators who covered the hillsides made the spectacle more impressive. 'It was magnificent,' wrote the Queen to King Leopold; 'finer decidedly than in London.'

If, then, Reform tarried in the Army, and changes were still to come in organisation and scientific equipment, comparable with those which had converted the Navy from wood to iron, from sail to steam, with an immeasurable addition to efficiency in war, this striking change there was—an upheaval of popular sentiment which produced a lasting citizen soldiery.

So much for the relationship of science

and invention to the fighting services of the Crown. Let us hark back to matters touching yet more closely the daily life and well-being of the civil population. When we think of the multitude of things that might be written—of the matters that must be excluded from this chapter as well as those that can be given but a word—we are tempted to ask whether there was anything familiar and commonplace to us in the twentieth century which was not either new or almost new, or unthought of when Edward VII. was in his cradle. Photography, gas, electric lighting, the very lucifer match were new things to our grandfathers. For ages fire had been obtained from friction by a toilsome process inherited from palæolithic man and not much improved. The earliest friction match was made in the second decade of the nineteenth century; the phosphorus match did not come into being until 1834, and it was not perfected until 1845. Heavy smokers, who use a box of matches a day, at three-half-pence a dozen boxes, may be reminded that when King Edward was a child the old phosphorus match, which the "safety" has displaced, was quite a novelty, was very dear, and was used with a most careful economy by the Victorian housewife. She would never light a candle with one if there was a fire in the rooms, nor would she use paper for that purpose, for paper was not a plentiful article in any household, rich or poor; the spruce forests of Canada and Northern Europe were not available in that form, and the marvellous cheapness of paper production, to which we owe the modern press and the diffusion of literature, was yet to come. And candles,

too! England was still illuminated by them and by nothing but them outside the great towns—where, by the way, the linkman with his flaming torch still offered his services on dark and foggy nights, lingering, indeed, and making casual appearances in London streets until the nineties, when improvements in illumination, both by gas and electricity, deprived the worst fogs of their blackness and darkness.

How far that little candle throws its beams!
So shines a good deed in a naughty world.

The candle, not the oil lamp, was the illuminant of Shakespeare's day, and it was the illuminant of the houses of England well into the middle of the nineteenth century.

Many of us can remember the bundles of farthing dips which were so omnipresent an article of merchandise in childhood—the candle cupboard in the deep basement of some Georgian or early Victorian house; the drawing-room, lighted with wax candles, to which childhood was occasionally admitted in its best clothes, when there was "company"; the library, lighted by wax candles, where paternal reproof was administered; the schoolroom and nursery lighted by candles; the trouble there used to be when Mary Anne spilled the grease on the stair carpetting, or when the page boy had not given the brass holders for the best rooms that brilliant polish which it was so hard to give before inventive genius had devised chemical pastes and liquids which clean and polish without elbow grease. There are still country houses where old-fashioned folk live which are not yet fitted with dynamos or gas-producing machinery, and where aged

ladies who saw King Edward at the Exhibition of 1851 ring at dusk—draw down a bell pull, not press an electric button—for the maid to come and close the shutters and light up the candelabra. There are still hotels in country towns, with mediæval churches and the ruins of a Norman castle, where the gas is not carried beyond the ground floor coffee

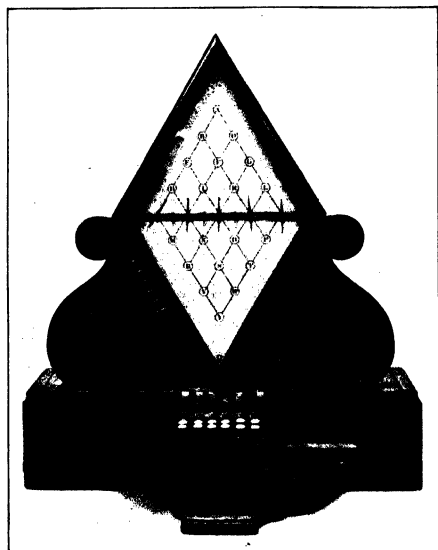
room and say their prayers at night and read their Bible by the light of one. Dear, good souls! But for them it would not have been possible to realise the place of the candle in the life of England when his late Majesty King Edward VII. was kicking woollen, crocheted shoes off his pink little toes in the nursery at Buckingham Palace.



room, and where the visitor finds on the landing a battalion of early Victorian candlesticks with late Victorian matches; and one of these he must take and light, or go to bed in darkness. Even in London to-day there are dear old ladies—pious, God-fearing, maiden aunts, strong Evangelicals, to whom “Leaves from the Journal of our Life in the Highlands” is literature of purest excellence—who burn wax candles in dining and drawing-

Gas was in its infancy, though in London and the great towns it was used for street and house lighting on an ever-extending scale. People still remembered that eminent scientists had declared that London would never be illuminated by gas, because the gasholders would have to be so numerous and so enormous, the system of piping so elaborate as to be fraught with dangers of escape and explosion. The generation which cheered itself hoarse on the Lord

Mayor's Day when King Edward was born had known a gasless London. Gas was first used in Pall Mall in 1809 and the new bridge at Westminster was equipped with a service in 1813, but it was not until 1814-20 that it began to be generally used in London for street lighting. The same scientists regarded steamships



WHEATSTONE AND COOKE'S TELEGRAPH INSTRUMENT, 1837.

By permission of H.M. Postmaster-General.

as useless for ocean navigation because of the enormous amount of coal they would have to carry. They would be all coal and no cargo; and how could the fares of passengers meet the coal bill?

In the industrial world the use of gas spread with amazing rapidity. Men of business saw in it a means by which the output of manufactures could be enormously increased; and the period was one when industry was organising

itself into the great factories and congeries of factories in districts, each turning out one group of products. The villages that had grown into small towns because each villager or townsman had a small forge in his back yard, or weaving room in an upper story, or workshop in part of his house or adjoining his house, were becoming great towns with masses of factories and masses of mean streets thereabouts, occupied by workmen without forges of their own. Individualism in industry was everywhere giving place to collective organisation and co-partnerships, on the limited liability principle. The process had been going on during the eighteenth century, and it went on increasingly when the practicability of using gas for illuminating great as well as small workshops was demonstrated. Its efficiency and its cheapness meant an increase in human productivity, and therefore a lessening of the cost of commodities. It hastened the transition of industry from the stage where the maker produced at his own forge or other implement of his trade in his own dwelling, with the aid of his sons, to the stage of production in great buildings equipped with machinery, where every process was specialised and labour organised and subdivided so that no single workman manufactured an article from start to finish, but performed one operative act. When continuous production was profitable it made work by night as possible as work by day. It made the factory and workshop system almost universal, and had industrial and social effects which benefited every class. Who can measure the benefits that accrued from the efficient lighting of the streets alone?

Electricity as an illuminant was un-

known outside the scientists' laboratory and the lecture room. We can imagine the late Lord Playfair giving the young Prince of Wales an illustration of Faraday's discovery of magneto-electric induction in a closed circuit by moving wires over a "magnetic field," and turning Faraday's disc machine—the embryo of the modern dynamo ; but we can hardly

of this generation will not live to see the time when no foul smoke shall ascend from factory or dwelling, and when electric current will be produced so cheaply as to be in universal use for heating and lighting and power. The electric telegraph was new. The year of its birth is not earlier than the accession of Queen Victoria. Wheatstone and Cooke's

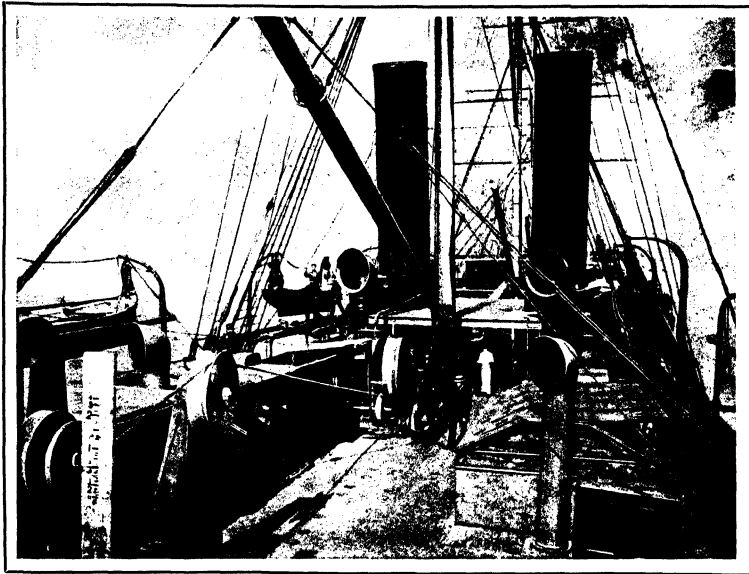


Photo: Siemens Bros.

THE SUBMARINE TELEGRAPH: PAYING OUT THE CABLE FROM THE DECK OF THE *FARADAY*.

imagine him prophesying that the Niagara falls, which the Prince was soon to visit, would within his lifetime be utilised to provide motive power for machinery at great distances. Electricity was a new thing in its application to power and lighting, and its possible effects on industry and in modifying the conditions of human life were but dreamed of—in a measure are still but dreamed of. We

patent was taken out in that year. Wheatstone's dial instrument was not invented until 1840. The first public telegraph was laid in England in 1844 between Slough and Windsor ; and nearly everyone regarded it merely as a surprising toy and doubted its utility. Dramatic proof of that utility was soon forthcoming. A woman was murdered. An official on the new railway was told of

the discovery of the body. He remembered having seen a stranger, who had excited his suspicions, taking the London Road. He telegraphed a description of the man to Paddington. The police met him and arrested him on suspicion. The crime was proved against him, he was sentenced to death and hanged. But for the telegraph the chances were all in his favour, that once in the shelter of London he would have gone unhung. After that the demand for telegraph facilities soon outstripped the ability of the electricians to satisfy it. Not until 1853 was a workable system of multiplex telegraphy devised, whilst the institution of postal telegraphy was not until 1872. Submarine telegraphy was a novelty when the Prince was a boy. The cable between Dover and Calais was laid in 1850; he was a boy of sixteen when the first attempt was made to lay a cable under the Atlantic; he was a man of twenty-four when the late Sir

James Anderson brought back the *Great Eastern* after the electricians had successfully accomplished their task. We who live in an era when the earth is girdled—when there is not a sea through which we cannot make instantaneous communication—find it hard to get back to the years when a telegram could not be sent here, there and everywhere, or when the sending of one was a new and prodigious act. That was the state of things in King Edward's boyhood. When he was coming home from Canada in 1860 we find Queen Victoria fretting at the delay, worrying about him while he was on the high seas, lamenting that she could hear nothing of him, torturing herself as a good mother will, lest a silence which could not be broken should hide some evil. When the sons of King George and Queen Mary go to sea, Her Majesty may learn of them by wireless telegraphy as often as she may desire. To state these things is to present the contrast.



SECTIONS OF THE SECOND AND THIRD ATLANTIC CABLES

Victoria and Albert Museum.

CHAPTER VIII

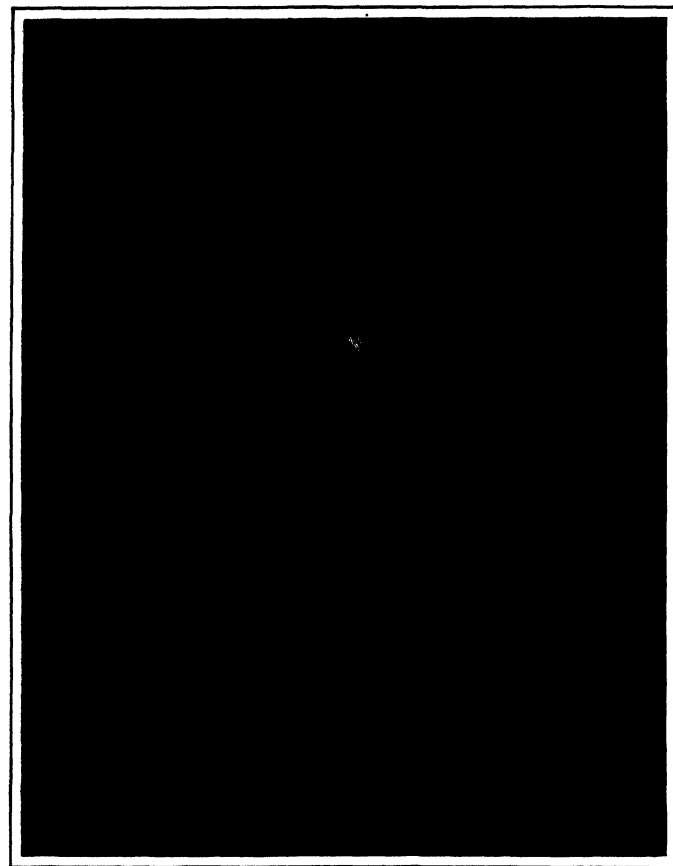
ENGLAND IN EDWARD'S CHILDHOOD—SCIENCE AND CULTURE; MANNERS AND MODES

The Poets of the Period—Dickens and Thackeray—Progress in Science—Triumphs of Engineering—The Doctrine of Evolution—The World of Art—Some Famous Pictures—The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood—The Philharmonic Society and its Conductors—A Musical Revival—Legitimate Drama in the days of Macready and Kean—Ellen Terry's First Appearance—A Higher Tone in Court Life—Magnates of Industry—Beginnings of Teetotalism—The State of Education—Condition of the Agricultural Labourer—Fighting Preventable Diseases—Fashions and Modes in the 'Fifties—The Crinoline—Contemporary Masculine Attire—What the Children Wore—The Amusements of the Masses

THE intellectual life of the nation during the youth of King Edward is less easily suggested to the mind than the processes of social change due to invention; but the difficulty of discharging such a task within a narrow compass is lessened by the fact that many of the great figures of the Victorian era lived until our own time; nor has their creative work yet been displaced or overlaid by achievements of greater power in this generation. One thing clearly to be seen in any view of the intellectual activities of England during the 'forties and 'fifties of the nineteenth century is that young giants were plentiful. In poetry there were Tennyson, Browning, Swinburne, Rossetti; in prose Carlyle, Macaulay, Ruskin, Dickens, Thackeray, Bulwer Lytton, George Eliot, Charlotte Brontë, Meredith, Trollope and Kingsley, Ainsworth, Marryat, Reade, Hardy—and perhaps the name of Disraeli should be added because of the brilliance and political suggestiveness of his earlier novels and their pictorial value as drawings from the life of the governing class. The late Dr. Traill, reviewing the Literature of the Victorian

era, treats the period from the close of the 'thirties to the 'sixties as one in which "the tide of great literary production was coming in in splendid strength and volume Thus the years 1846-52 witnessed the publication of 'David Copperfield'; of 'Vanity Fair,' 'Pendennis,' and 'Esmond'; of the first two volumes of Macaulay's 'History'; of 'The Princess' and 'In Memoriam'; of 'The Seven Lamps of Architecture'; of 'The Latter-Day Pamphlets' and 'The Life of Sterling'; of 'Christmas Eve and Easter Day'; of Mrs. Browning's first two volumes of 'Poems'; and of 'Jane Eyre,' 'Shirley,' and 'Villette.' This list, as has been said, is not so rich in poetry as that with which we have compared it, and, perhaps even Dickens and Thackeray combined do not more than suffice to balance that astonishing mixture of profusion and perfection which makes Scott victorious over any single competitor, save Shakespeare alone. But though the writers figuring in them are in each case nine in number, more varieties of genius are represented in the later than in the earlier epochs, and many of the above

enumerated works are scarcely less sure of immortality than the Waverley Novels, and considerably surer than the rhapsodies of De Quincey and the discourses of Hazlitt."



CHARLES DARWIN.

By permission, from the painting by the Hon. John Collier, in the possession of the Linnean Society.

In philosophy there was Herbert Spencer, whose first book, "Social Statics," was issued in '51; George Henry Lewes; and Miss Martineau, whose early books

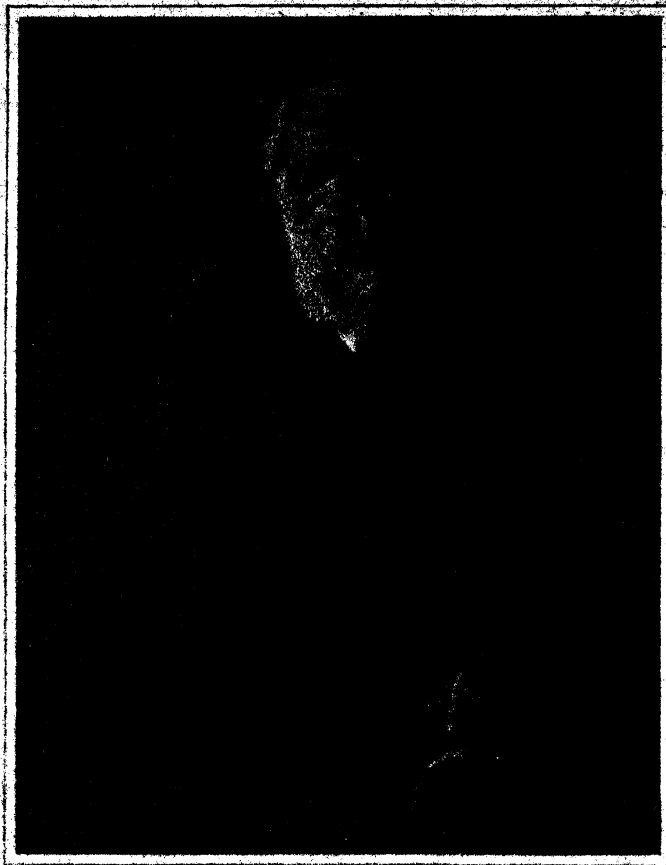
appeared in King Edward's youth. In physics, Tyndall, Clerk Maxwell, William Thomson (Lord Kelvin). In chemistry, A. W. Hofmann, W. H. Perkin and Edward Frankland. In medicine, Lister. In nursing, Florence Nightingale. In engineering, Booth and George Stephenson, with the multitubular boiler; Lenoir, with the gas engine; MacNeill, Telford, Robert Stephenson, Brunel. In metallurgy, Bessemer and Siemens, who revolutionised the finished-iron and steel industries. Last, but greatest, there was Charles Darwin, not merely in science — using that word in its general acceptance as indicating a department of knowledge — but also in literature and philosophy. For his theories and suggestions were to modify human thought in whatever channel it sought expression. He gave a new reading of the mystery of existence, a fresh interpretation of life, its origins, and processes. Other minds had been working on the same lines, and his



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conceptions may not have been wholly original and personal ; but it was he who set forth the evidence, drew the deductions from it, and stated them in language which the plain man could understand. This is not the place to discuss the theory of evolution—the development of organic life through the struggle for existence and Natural Selection ; nor need we describe the effect of its promulgation on stereotyped ideas. Still less need is there to do more than allude to the hostility of those who were unable to see that there was nothing in the theory necessarily inconsistent with Revealed Religion and the Biblical narrative of the genesis of the Earth and the life of Man and his fellow creatures ; for that controversy, which is now past revival,

belongs to a later period than that with which we are now dealing. All that is necessary here is to recall the fact to the reader's mind that it was in the youth of King Edward that Charles Darwin made this immense enlargement of the mental horizon of man. Robert Chambers's "Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation" had been published in 1844. The idea of progressive development from "an impulse which was imparted to the forms of life, advancing them on definite lines, by generation,

through grades of organisation terminating in the highest plants and animals"—this idea was working like leaven in the minds of the educated public in the early 'forties. Meanwhile, Darwin was collecting his evidence and formulating his conclusions, though he did not give them to the world until 1858. Alfred Russel Wallace was thinking out the



SCENE IN THE MOLUCCAS.

By permission, from a photograph supplied by the "Challenger" Office, Edinburgh

facts of life as he saw them in the Malay Archipelago and consolidating his ideas into a generalisation that "every species has come into existence coincidentally both in space and time with a pre-existing closely-allied species." But, as he tells in an autobiographical passage in "The Wonderful Century," he had—"no conception of *how* or *why* each new form had come into existence, with all its beautiful adaptations to its special mode of life ; and though the subject was continually being pondered over, no light

came to me till February, 1858, under somewhat peculiar circumstances. I was then living at Ternate in the Moluccas and was suffering from a rather severe attack of intermittent fever, which prostrated me for several hours every day during the cold and succeeding hot fits. During one of these fits, while again considering the problem of the origin of species, something led me to think of Malthus's 'Essay on Population' (which I had read about ten years before) and the positive checks—war, disease, famine, accidents, etc.—which he adduced as keeping all savage populations stationary. It then occurred to me that these checks must also act upon animals and keep down their numbers; and as they increase so much faster than man does, while their numbers are always very nearly, or quite, stationary, it was clear that these checks in their case must be far more powerful, since a number almost equal to the whole increase must be cut off by them every year. While vaguely thinking how this would affect any species, there suddenly flashed upon me the idea of the survival of the fittest—that the individuals removed by those checks must be, on the whole, inferior to those that survived. Then, considering the variations continually occurring in every fresh generation of animals and plants, and the changes of climate, of food, of enemies always in progress, the whole method of specific modification became clear to me, and in the two hours of my fit I had thought out the main points of my theory. That same evening I sketched out the draft of a paper, and on the two succeeding evenings I wrote it out and sent it by the next post to Mr. Darwin. I fully expected it would be as new to him as

it was to myself, because he had informed me by letter that he was engaged on a work which was intended to show in what way species and varieties differ from each other, adding, 'my work will not fix or settle anything.' I was therefore surprised to find that he had nearly arrived at the very same theory as mine long before (in 1844), had worked it out in considerable detail, and had shown the MSS. to Sir Charles Lyell and Sir Joseph Hooker; and that on their recommendation my paper and sufficient extracts from his MSS. work were read at a meeting of the Linnean Society in July of the same year, when the theory of Natural Selection or survival of the fittest was first made known to the world. But it received little attention till Darwin's great and epoch-making book appeared at the end of the following year."

Thus there came into being a theory which was to colour all thought and literature during the remainder of the century, and to bring about a cataclysmic mental disturbance. The birth of that theory is not the least important fact in the times of King Edward VII., though it probably had little influence on his own mental life, for in his young manhood the theory was regarded as utterly subversive of religion and morals. And from anything which the clerical world pronounced as leading in that direction he was most zealously guarded. He could scarcely have been insensible of its effects upon the life of his time as he grew older, though his intellectual interests do not seem to have been of so comprehensive a range as they might have been had the Prince Consort lived through the Darwinian controversy.

He could not take up a periodical with-

WRITERS IN THE EARLY DAYS OF EDWARD VII.



Photo: Emery Walker.
CHARLES DICKENS.
By Ary Scheffer.

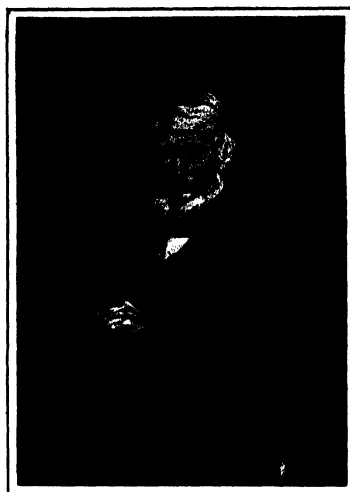


Photo: Emery Walker.
THOMAS CARLYLE.
From the Painting by Sir J. E. Millais, Bart., P.R.A.

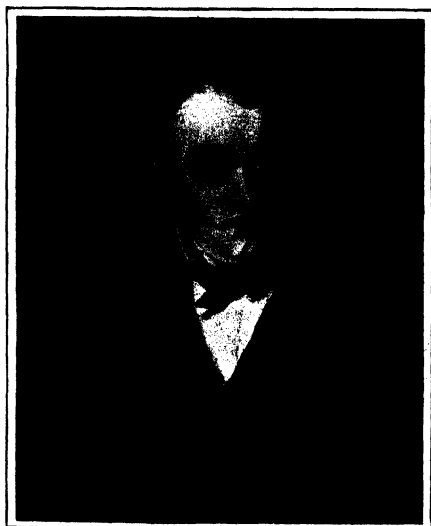


Photo: Emery Walker.
LORD MACAULAY.
By Sir Francis Grant, P.R.A., National Portrait Gallery.



W. M. THACKERAY.
*From the Painting by Sir J. Gilbert, R.A., by permission
of the Garrick Club.*

out reading a review of the book, some attempt at exposition of the theory, some grotesque misrepresentation of it; or hear a sermon without listening to a direct or oblique attack upon it and its author. He must have been conscious, too, of Herbert Spencer's conception of the doctrine of evolution in philosophy—of the disintegrating effect which Spencer's "Principles of Psychology" was having upon the conventional idea of acts of special creation. Biological evolution was henceforth to be one of the basic ideas of the Spencerian School of philosophy. Mr. T. Whittaker, who writes on Philosophy and Anthropology in "The Building of Britain and the Empire," has a terse and lucid passage which will assist the reader to understand how Spencer applied Darwinian conceptions to the State and the evolution of human societies. If it takes us a decade farther than this chapter should in strictness go, its inclusion at this stage will fittingly end our allusions to the opening of this new epoch in philosophical knowledge and speculation:—

"In the 'Principles of Biology' (1864-7) the Darwinian doctrine of natural selection is incorporated; but for Spencer this is only one of the factors of organic evolution, the others being direct action of the environment on the organism, and inherited effects of the use and disuse of organs. 'First Principles' (1862) set forth Spencer's general philosophy. It contains in its first part a metaphysical doctrine, and in its second a scheme of cosmical evolution embracing both the physical phenomena of the universe and the phenomena of life, mind, and society. Spencer put forward his metaphysical doctrine as a consistent development of

Hamilton's and Mansel's philosophy of the Conditioned. The Unconditioned, or Absolute, is positively known to exist, but is in itself for ever unknowable. Mental and material phenomena are its manifestations. These are knowable, and are the objects of science. The Unknowable is the object of the religious sentiment. Remaining always a mystery, insoluble by human thought, it is yet ever presenting itself anew at the bounds of science. Science and religion are reconciled by acquiescence in the mystery, without any attempt to evade it by assertions which are necessarily groundless or meaningless. . . . In the 'Psychology' the doctrine of evolution is applied to explain those cognitions that seem intuitive, in a manner consistent with the philosophy that derives all knowledge from experience. The results of experience, Spencer holds, are passed on from one individual to another by heredity; hence in explaining knowledge we are not confined to the experience of each individual. There is an inherited experience of the race, on which that of the individual is superimposed. This same conception can be applied to ethical theory. By inherited experience, along with other factors, we get what are practically moral intuitions. Also, in the attempt to arrive at moral rules for new cases, the doctrine of evolution gives us an immense advantage over the older utilitarianism. We are able to take for our basis certain biological and sociological laws in order to arrive at rational precepts such as could never be arrived at by mere empirical summation of pleasures and pains. We have thus for our morality a rational instead of an empirical utilitarianism."

SOME POETS OF THE PERIOD.



LORD TENNYSON.
From a Portrait by S. Laurence.



DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI.
From a Photograph by Lewis Carroll.

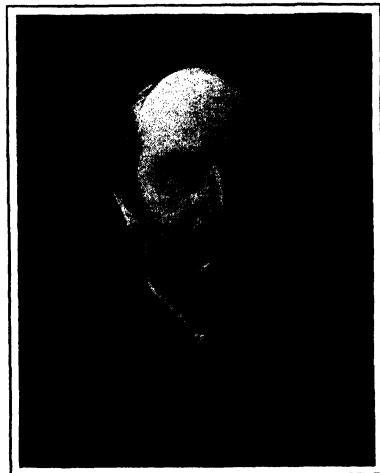


Photo : Elliott & Fry.
ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE.



Photo : Grove, Brompton Road.
ROBERT BROWNING.



THE HAY WAIN.
(*John Constable, R.A.*)

In the Art of painting J. M. W. Turner was in unchallengeable supremacy, though he had done his greatest work and was in his seventh decade when King Edward was born. Mr. Reginald Hughes, in the volumes already mentioned, thus sums up his contributions to the world of Art:—

“It was not only that nobody before Turner had painted mountains in the spirit of mountains, or seas, still or stormy, in the spirit of the sea, or that he first interpreted for us the redundancy of Nature, the infinity of cloud perspective, the alluring mystery of distance—he did all this, but he did much more. He was the supreme master of all the splendour, all the magic of the heavens. And all this was done, or mainly done, in that period of intellectual stagnation and formality, the age of the Regency and

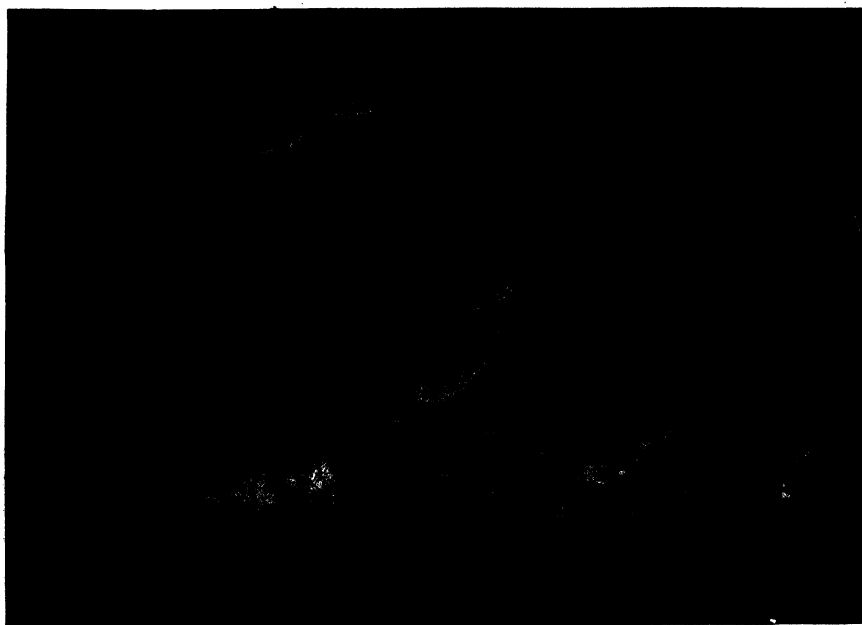
the reign of George IV. and his successor. And he who brought this revelation to man—for it was nothing short of a revelation—was the son of a poor hairdresser in Maiden Lane, without refinement, without schooling, coarse in his tastes, ungainly in his person, uncouth in his speech; the greatest natural talent, the most lonely and isolated individuality that the century has produced. After a life of unequalled productiveness in oils, in water-colours, in drawings for the engravers, wealthy beyond his wants and famous beyond his desires, he died in 1851 at the age of seventy-six. It was one of the fancies of this strange, great, lonely nature to hide himself on his holidays in some hole or other, and, for his complete security, to go by a feigned name. He was passing under the name of Brooks,

as a broken-down sea-captain, and lodging at a riverside cottage at Battersea, when he was seized with his last illness. There was a railed-in roof to the cottage, and as long as he was able the painter, whose life had been given to learn the mystery of light and its interpretation, used regularly to drag himself up to gaze at the sunrise. 'The sun, it is God,' were almost the last words that escaped his lips. Truly a pious man this, according to his creed.

"Not only did Turner live his artistic life apart, but the glorious creations of his maturity bear the distinctive marks of an essentially lonely and incommunicable genius. In consequence, his influence on English art, as a whole, has been singularly small, and, indeed, in an inverse

ratio to the transcendent greatness of the artist."

Quite otherwise was it, Mr. Hughes points out, with John Constable. He died in 1837, and thus comes within the scope of this chapter as the founder of a school. He was a pioneer, for—again we quote Mr. Hughes—he "taught the landscape painter to go to Nature for his subjects, 'to leave the galleries for a while and look at the creation,' and paint such message as it had for him. Thus it has happened that, on both sides of the Channel, he has had, as he would have wished, followers of his principles by the score, but hardly any imitators of his practice. Just as Constable was the first to paint the silver sparkle of the light on the edges of the-drenched elm-leaves, so Corot was



CALAIS PIER.
(J. M. W. Turner, R.A.)

the first to give the smoky softness of the twittering foliage of the French popular. When Constable's landscapes received a medal in the Salon, a French critic complained that the influence of these English pictures would ruin French artistic traditions. The answer is the work of that admirable group of artists, among

Even Ruskin wrote that 'Constable perceives in a landscape that the grass is wet, and the meadows flat, and the boughs shady; that is to say, about as much as I suppose might in general be apprehended between them by an intelligent fawn and a skylark.' This diatribe contains perhaps the noblest compliment



OPHELIA.

(Sir J. E. Millais, Bart., P.R.A.)

whom were Corot and Millet, Rousseau and Troyon, the school that has immortalised the little forest village of Barbizon.

"Nor were Constable's dispraisers found only or chiefly among the foreign critics. At home they laughed at his silvery lights—'Constable's snow' they called it derisively. They jeered, too, at his love of grey and showery weather. 'Give me mine umbrella,' said Fuseli, 'I am going to see a picture of Mr. Gonstable's.'

ever paid to a landscape painter. It goes, moreover, to the root of the matter, for that was exactly what Constable felt, and those unnoticed beauties it was his hope and wish to bring to light. 'I love every stile and stump and lane in the village,' he said; 'as long as I am able to hold a brush I shall never cease to paint them.' Hardly recognised, as we have said, as a great artist until the Exhibition in Paris in 1824, Constable died in 1837

at the age of sixty ; but the maker of modern landscape had done his work."

Linnell, John Martin, Francis Danby, Charles L. Eastlake, Edwin Landseer, Samuel Prout, David Roberts, Mulready, C. R. Leslie, William Etty, Copley Fielding, David Cox—these are but names of some of the geniuses who were still working in oils or water-colours, or both, in King Edward's childhood ; and in his

youth and early manhood new talent was arising which was to enrich English art and give a brighter glory to the Victorian era. The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood was at work with the ecstatic zeal of creative youth. Walter Howell Deverell, Millais, Henry Wallis, G. P. Boyce, Brett, Hook, Henry Moore, W. J. Inchbold, W. S. Burton, Alfred William Hunt, Rossetti, Burne Jones, Holman Hunt, Frederick Walker were at their easels, either acquiring their art or exercising it, while King Edward was in the twenties. He was a contemporary of this glorious company, as of another group scarcely less renowned—Leighton, Burton, Poynter, Alma Tadema, Philip Calderon, Marks, Faed, Fildes, Leslie, Whistler, Briton Riviere. He was young with nearly all. In archi-



HIGH LIFE.

(Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A.)

or listening to the finest interpretations of them, music in England received a stimulus which was felt throughout all classes of society. The foundation of the Philharmonic Society in 1820 was the starting point of the custom of inducing Continental genius to visit these shores. The esteem in which Mendelssohn was held at the English Court, and the friend-

ship which marked his intercourse with the Royal family, appears frequently in the writings of Queen Victoria, and in many memoirs of the period. The late Mr. Sutherland Edwards, a scholarly historian and critic of music, in a review of the state of music since the Georgian era, reminds us that it was in 1842 that Mendelssohn for the second time appeared in England in the double capacity of



LOW LIFE.

(Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A.)

conductor and pianist. "Two years later he directed five of the concerts; and it was in this memorable year that Joachim made his first appearance at the Philharmonic. After the production of *Elijah* at Birmingham, in 1846—Mendelssohn's culminating triumph in England and in the world of music generally—the composer whose influence on English musicians was so remarkable conducted at the Philharmonic Society his symphony in



THE WOODCUTTERS.

(John Linnell.)

A Minor, and played the pianoforte part in Beethoven's G Major concerto. In 1853 Berlioz conducted at the Philharmonic his *Harold in Italy*. In 1855 Wagner directed the concerts, producing the *Tannhäuser* overture at one and a selection from *Lohengrin* at another. In the next ten years Sterndale Bennett was conductor; and it was during the first year of Bennett's conductorship that Schumann's compositions were introduced at the Philharmonic. Among subsequent conductors may be mentioned Mr. W. G. Cusins, Sir Arthur Sullivan, Mr. F. H. Cowen, and Sir Alexander Mackenzie." . . . "In 1852 the New

Philharmonic Concerts were conducted by Berlioz, and in 1853 by Spohr. The Crystal Palace Concerts had already been established. But it was not until Mr. (afterwards Sir) August Manns took direction of the orchestra that the so-called 'Winter Concerts' were founded. They were the best of their kind ever given in England. The orchestra was finely composed; the conductor one of the most powerful and skilful orchestral directors that England has known; and he had under his guidance and control a practised body of players, well accustomed to follow his beat on all points, great and small."

Outside the concert room the Opera rather than the spoken drama was the chief attraction of the world of fashion and culture. It was the era of Balfe and Wallace. Again we quote Mr. Sutherland Edwards: "Apart from the Royal Academy and from academical training generally, there had appeared among us a composer of great natural talent, Michael William Balfe. He had played as violinist at the Dublin Theatre, he had sung light baritone parts with considerable success at various opera-houses in Italy, and he had even composed to Italian *libretti* several operas which were much admired, when he produced at a London theatre (in 1836) an opera called *The Siege of Rochelle*, which was received with enthusiastic applause. . . . The next great success achieved by Balfe was *The Maid of Artois*, composed for Malibran who 'created' the principal part a

Drury Lane under the management of Alfred Bunn.

"After composing several other operas and endeavouring to found at the Lyceum Theatre an English Opera-House, Balfe brought out in 1843, at Drury Lane, his most successful work, *The Bohemian Girl*, which has been played far oftener, both in England and abroad, than any other opera by an English composer. In *The Bondman*, written throughout in music—with accompanied recitative in lieu of the ordinary spokendialogue, with elaborate finales and plenty of solid work for the orchestra—Balfe made an attempt to secure for a grand opera the same favourable reception which

had always been extended to his operas of the familiar *Bohemian Girl* type. But *The Bondman* was coldly received, and Balfe soon reverted to the only form in which, even to this day, opera has proved acceptable in England to the general public."

The Richter Concerts, the developments in orchestral music in England, the work of Gilbert and Sullivan, the company of English musicians who gave distinction to the latter half of the reign of Victoria, do not come within the period of this

survey. It is enough to add that the youth of Edward VII. was passed amid a notable revival of the art of music amongst us—a revival clearly traceable to the influence of his parents.

Concerning the drama a great period had closed with Charles Young, Edmund Kean, Charles Kemble and Liston, whose careers ended with William IV., and a



LORD BYRON'S DREAM.
(Sir C. L. Eastlake, P.R.A., 1850.)

new period not less remarkable had opened with Macready. "The legitimate drama," says Miss Mary Bateson in the work already quoted, "entered upon a new era, when Samuel Phelps, with Mrs. Warner, took the management of Sadler's Wells, Islington. Phelps followed the methods of Macready, but had not his vigour. He could act parts of every description, and appeared in at least thirty Shakespearean characters. Though he never excelled by force of inspiration of passion or sentiment, he knew his audi-

ence, and delivered his words slowly and audibly, making little of himself and everything of his author. In eighteen seasons he produced thirty-one of Shakespeare's plays, free from eighteenth century 'improvements,' and further revived many plays of the seventeenth and eighteenth century classics. The literary world went nightly on pilgrimage to 'the Wells,' Islington. Nearer home, Charles Kean, as manager of the Princess's from 1850, was doing similar work. He rejected the theatricality and point-making of his predecessors; and though he failed sometimes in tragic power through his eagerness to represent rather the quietude of nature, he educated people to appreciate more refined methods. He cared much for historical accuracy; his pageants, dresses, and scenery, to which Stanfield brought his artistic skill, surpassed the efforts of his predecessors. This was the period of dramatised versions of Dickens's novels, of Buckstone's *Jack Sheppard*, of Boucicault's *London Assurance*, and of some of the best known plays of Tom Taylor and Charles Reade.

"In 1841 Rachel had shown London the best traditions of the French classical drama, and people were reading Racine as something more than a painful school task or study in literature. In 1857 came Ristori, and those who had seen Rachel found it hard to choose between them; Marston thought Rachel the more grand and terrible, Ristori the more human, with more power to excite pity and compassion in such a part as Phèdre. In 1857 her *Lady Macbeth*, in Italian, was the world's talk. The American actress, Charlotte Cushman, who acted *Romeo* to her sister's *Juliet*, in 1846, and the French actor, Fechter, had qualities of

the greatest tragic power. In 1855 the periods appear to divide again. In that year William Farren, the elder, retired, and with him the stage lost the best player of Sir Anthony Absolute, Sir Peter Teazle, and the courtly gentleman of the last century. In the following year Ellen Terry made her first appearance, under Kean's management, in a child's part. With the 'sixties begins the period of Robertson's plays: *David Garrick*, *Society*, *Ours*, *Caste*, *Play*, and *School*; of H. J. Byron's management of the Prince of Wales's Theatre, formerly the Queen's; of the first important appearances of Mr. Bancroft, Mr. Hare, Mr. Irving, Mr. Wyndham (each to receive a knighthood later), and Mrs. Kendal. In 1875 H. J. Byron gave to the Vaudeville Theatre *Our Boys*, which ran for more than four years. For a time English dramatic invention, except in melodrama and farce, seemed at a standstill."

Simultaneously with the changes we have indicated in industry and the arts, in literature and philosophy, there were modifications in manners and social customs which refined the life of England of much of the grossness peculiar to the Georgian era. Some of the unpopularity incurred by the Prince Consort is attributable to the severity of his attitude towards loose livers, drinkers, men of lewd conversations, swearers, gamblers, frequenters of evil society. None such dared approach him. The austerity of his bearing to any who attempted the least familiarity or lowered the tone of thought and conversation in his presence was unforgettable. The Court was kept free not alone from vicious but also from merely vulgar influences. And Society took its tone from the Court. If the virtue and piety

and homely sentimentality of the early decades of the Victorian era strike a student of those years as being sometimes a little aggressively in evidence, and perhaps put forward as a cloak for darker qualities, they were nevertheless evidences of a real social improvement and a sincere desire on the part of an ever-enlarging section of the community to bring the life of England into less distant conformity with religious and moral ideals. The accession of the young Queen purified the Court circle of the undesirable elements which had survived from the eighteenth century through the short preceding reign. The spectacle of the peaceful and happy home life at Windsor and Balmoral deeply impressed a nation satiated with the scandals of the Georgian Courts. The Queen was

"A pattern to all Princes living with her," and the Prince Consort none the less to the men of his day. From their lives the people

read the perfect ways of honour, and learned to tread them. The tone of Society was changed. The family life of the Sovereign became a national ideal. There was a note of seriousness which had

not been heard in English Society—though it had never been absent from the middle classes—since William and Mary shared the Throne. The Puritan element in the nation asserted itself once more; and it found in the broad Evangelicism of the Court an encouragement and an inspiration long denied to it in high places. Perhaps

the reaction went too far and resulted in a form of British "respectability" which was a little oppressive to the young and those who were too old to alter their ways; but it was a wholesome reaction, and brought great good. The moral standard of the nation was raised positively by the influence of the Court. To the dissolute, doors were shut that had before been open, and cleanliness of life and conversa-

tion, or a consummate and successful discretion in the concealment of errors, was imposed upon all nearly or remotely associated with the Court or in the service of the Crown. These classes constituted the Society of the day; the new aristocracy of wealth from manufactures and commerce had not then swarmed over the territorial barriers and dumped its heiresses into an exclusive matrimonial market. That social change was but beginning when Edward VII.



EDMUND KEAN.

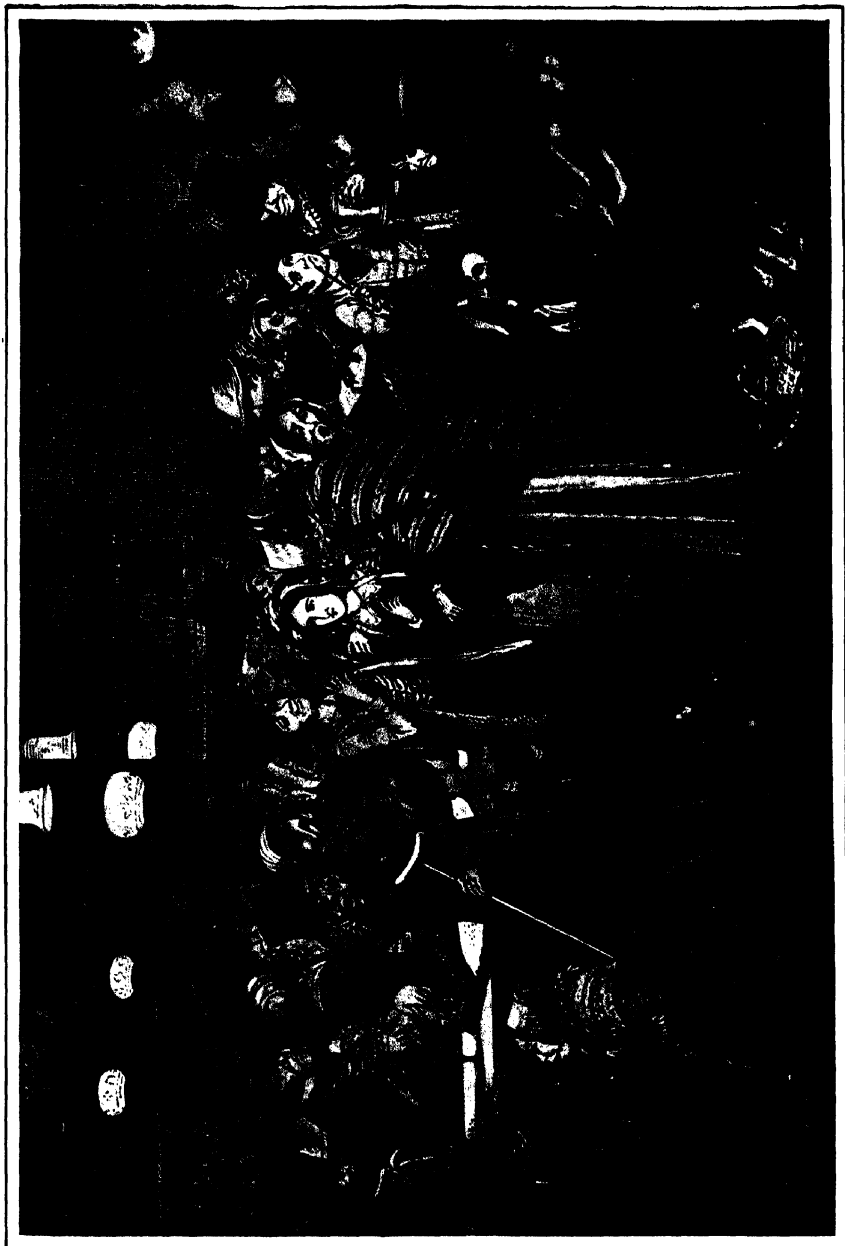
By S. J. Stump (National Portrait Gallery).

was a youth ; and it was a change to which he gave a tremendous impetus when he had an establishment of his own, for he made his friends wherever he willed to do so, and nobility by right of birth was not regarded as having any special claim to his friendship. "Edward!" said the late Duke of Cambridge. "Why, I can't go and see Edward without having to say 'how do you do' to a grocer!"

This rising aristocracy of wealth was essentially Puritan at heart ; it sprang from the people. Many who acquired wealth in industry had themselves been workmen who had "set up for themselves" at a forge in their own back yard, and by adding forge to forge had become magnates in the manufacturing world. They were the pick of their class—the men whose brains and industry, whose frugality and self-denial, whose powers of organisation and gifts for making opportunities for themselves, had raised them to affluence. They were not a literate class ; it was no uncommon thing among them to be unable to write more than a signature or read more than an invoice. Nor had their manners a courtly polish nor their speech a mincing delicacy : their wives and daughters had not then learned thus to disguise the honest English accent of the Midlands and the North. They were a little vulgar, a little loud and self-assertive, with an immense pride in themselves and their "brass," often with an unpitiful scorn for the weaknesses of men of their own social rank who were helots still and whom they were able to keep in helotry ; but in the main they were a fine type, masterful, virile, independent, the salt of the industrial earth, the men who had made England the workshop of the world. In morals they

were on the side of righteousness. In religion they were either Evangelical or Nonconformist ; keepers of the Sabbath—those awful Victorian Sabbaths—readers of one Book on one day of the week ; scorers of pleasure and luxury and idleness ; quite sure that the playhouse was an entrance to the bottomless pit ; well satisfied with their own prospects of eternal bliss and in divers other ways keeping alive in the nineteenth century the religious ideas of the seventeenth century Puritans. Their influence was with the Court, for the social virtues of the new Court were those of the new English middle class, whose growth in wealth and numbers had by then enabled them to divide political power with the landed aristocracy.

With so strong a combination—Court, aristocracy, and middle class—marching resolutely along the path of virtue and united in regarding the family life of the Sovereign as an ensample to the nation, the wicked had to retire to their secret places, of which there was no lack, if one may judge from the plays and novels and newspapers of the time. If vice did not cease, it certainly became far less obtrusive. In one respect, that of drunkenness, there was a sharp and sensible improvement when it became known that the Prince Consort was a man of most scrupulous sobriety and loathed the hard drinker at the dinner table ; and early Victorian society was full of elderly gentlemen who had not gone to bed unassisted for many a year. As these Georgian survivors passed away, insobriety ceased to be tolerated in private and public dining rooms. The decline of drunkenness in the upper classes had already been noticed by a Select Committee of the House of Com-



THE DRUNKARD'S CHILDREN.

By George Cruikshank.

mons which had inquired into the drink trade in 1834. Under the influence of the Court the decline was so sharp that the aristocracy became—as, on the whole, it still is—the most abstemious class in the kingdom. Among the vulgar drunkenness was unchecked, and legislation—too timorous to be of service, for “the trade” had already got its muscular hand on the throat of the politician—failed to arrest the vice. A Committee of the House of Commons which sat in the



JOSEPH LIVESEY.

'seventies could form no more hopeful view than that drunkenness was no worse in the industrial centres than it had been thirty years before. The gin-shop and the beer-house still represented the highest joys of the democracy, though this generalisation, as every other in this chapter, is, of course, subject to many qualifications. On this aspect of national customs Miss Mary Bateson has written :—

“The Cobden Treaty of 1860 to encourage the lighter French vintages had a marked effect on the consumption of light wines in the United Kingdom. In 1801–3 only 274,000 gallons of French wines were drunk, with over 7,000,000 gallons of

other wines. In 1880, of over 17,000,000 gallons imported, the French contribution was nearly 7,000,000. From 1858–60 the average annual consumption of all foreign wines was about 6,600,000 gallons ; from 1882–4 over 14,000,000 gallons. According to Porter's statistics, the consumption of British spirits per head was, 1721–91, an average of '62 gallon ; 1791–1871, '46 gallon, or a diminution of 25 per cent., but foreign and colonial spirits showed an increase. Malt showed a decrease from 3'76 bushels to 2'11 bushels, a fall of 43 per cent. ; whereas the amount of wine imported per head of population increased by about 200 per cent., 1860–85.”

“The earliest temperance societies were American, and date from the end of the eighteenth century. In England temperance societies of the modern type date from 1829, when Professor John Edgar at Belfast, G. W. Carr at New Ross, and John Dunlop at Glasgow, acting independently, started societies with members pledged to abstain from intoxicating liquor. A year later H. Forbes started one at Bradford ; in 1832 Joseph Livesey, of Preston, and six others pledged themselves to total abstinence, and one of their friends created a word when he declared in a speech that ‘nothing but te-te-total would do.’ In 1834 the Commission on drunkenness (already referred to) proposed that temperance societies should be encouraged and established throughout the country. This recommendation, however, was little likely to find acceptance in high quarters ; for William IV., though he hated drunkards, hated water-drinkers no less. When King Leopold was dining with him, the king exclaimed, ‘What's that you are drinking, sir ?’ ‘Water, sir.’ ‘G——d——it, why

don't you drink wine? I never allow anybody to drink water at my table.' He himself drank a bottle of sherry daily at dinner.

"It was not long before the advocates of temperance and of teetotalism found their differences irreconcilable. But the movement was unchecked. Father Theobald Mathew, President of the Total Abstinence Society in Cork, began in 1838 to become famous for his marvellous influence over drunkards, and crowds took the pledge at his hands. A fruitful source of evil, in the belief of the Commissioners of 1834, had been the meeting of benefit and friendly societies in public-houses, where a part of the funds was always spent in drink. In 1835 was founded the first benefit society on temperance principles,

called the Independent Order of Rechabites. Total abstinence was shown to be an important factor in insurance statistics of health and longevity, and many other insurance societies were founded for pledged members. Co-operation with societies in all parts of the world has become a leading feature of temperance work. A special branch of periodical literature is devoted to the question, and the bibliography of temperance is rich in songs, recitations, and tracts. In 1878 the Blue

Ribbon Army made its first appearance, in Hoxton. Whilst temperance as a doctrine was spreading, its practice was helped on by the opening of coffee-taverns, temperance hotels, and other places intended to offer as many of the comforts of the public-house as are possible in the absence of its temptations.

"The example of the Maine Liquor Law of 1851, in the United States of America,



A VILLAGE SCHOOL IN THE 'FORTIES.

By H. K. Browne.

led the temperance reformers to look to legislation for drastic measures against the liquor trade. In 1853 a Select Committee inquired into the public-houses, but no legislation followed their report. The first step gained was the Wine and Beer-house Act of 1869, which made it impossible for any excise licences to be granted without the sanction of the justices. In 1872 the hours of sale were reduced from twenty-one to an average of seventeen, and the penalty on infringement increased. Any licensed person

who permitted riotous or drunken conduct on his premises or who sold liquor to a drunken person was to be fined, and the conviction might be recorded on his licence. In 1874 the Licensing Act required Sunday closing during certain hours. In 1882 the justices were allowed a more extended discretion in the refusal of licences for consumption of beer on and off the premises than had been given in 1869, which had allowed refusal only in flagrant cases. Two important Acts are the Sunday Closing (Wales) Act, which enforces general closing except for the refreshment-rooms of railway-stations; and the Act of 1883, which forbade the payment of wages in public-houses, and embodied, after long delay, one of the proposals of the Commissioner of 1834."

We have said enough in the semi-political survey of industrial England to suggest the manner of life of the working classes. The standard in the towns was low. Few had any education. The population had outstripped the school accommodation that could be provided by the National Society and the denominations. Not till King Edward was a man of thirty did the State equip the country with educational machinery. The manners of the people were coarse; crimes of

violence were common incidents; the average young working man of to-day is a cultured and refined gentleman by comparison with his grandfather. In rural England the conditions were better, for life was easier after the cheapening of bread-stuffs by the repeal of the Corn Laws; but rents were extravagantly high, having regard to the fact that the produce of land had now to compete with that of virgin soil which did not have to support a non-producing class; wages were therefore deplorably low. The farmer made a bare living; the agricultural labourer eked out a subsistence, and if he lived until he was decrepit, he and his wife died in the workhouse. The young people went to the towns, but not in such numbers as to deplete the rural areas. The attraction of the land was still too strong for that. On the whole the condition of the rural labourer was bad. His cottage might be picturesque, but it was noisome. Reform in rural housing was to come. Joseph Arch was yet to awaken in the agricultural labourer the demand for a living wage and a dwelling in which growing children could be housed in decency; the landlord class was yet to clear its estates of human habitations in which it would not have

housed its pigs—a matter in which the Prince of Wales was among the first to set an example on the purchase of the Sandringham property. The poems of Crabbe were still true to rural life. The writings of Charles Kingsley on this aspect of England were descriptions of things seen. But on the whole rural

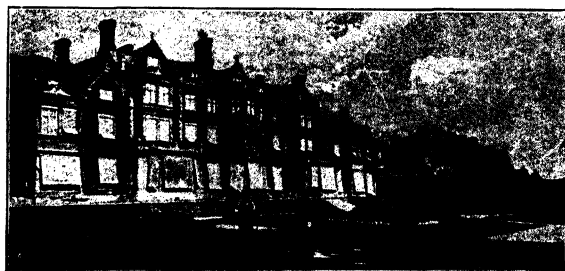


Photo: Smith, Kings Lynn.

SANDRINGHAM HOUSE, NORFOLK.

life offered a security and placidity which the life of the towns did not present. It was the young and strong, the adventurous and discontented, who left the ditches and the furrows to join the armies of navvies who cut the railroads of England; those who remained were blessed with an infinite patience—a hard living, frugal, peaceable folk, the idiots and epileptics being the chief providers of what crime there was; serious crime, that is, not mere poaching.

Both in towns and villages sanitation was so primitive that it is marvellous that the population was not swept away by another visitation of the plague. These were the days before the machinery of local government as we now know it, was set up. Vaccination was not made compulsory until 1853. Smallpox and typhus were rife. It is now becoming rare, indeed, to see in England a pitted face. Fifty years ago such a disfigurement was not so infrequent as to be very remarkable. In the 'forties it was quite common. Typhoid, diphtheria, and the host of diseases which modern science knows to be preventable ravaged the country yearly. They do so still, for they are not, in fact, prevented, and are not likely to be so for some generations to come, so slowly does society utilise the knowledge of its scientific teachers; but the ravages were far worse than any this generation knows. The Prince Consort died of a preventable disease, as we shall presently see; the then Prince of Wales escaped death from it as by a miracle. Against these scourges of humanity preventive science was in no wise operative on any organised and systematic scale in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The Local Government Board was not

brought into existence until 1872. The medical profession itself was not closed against the uneducated and incompetent until 1858. Before that date the avenue to it was by apprenticeship and practice—to the enrichment of undertakers and the new burial ground companies which came into existence in London in early Victorian times. Gil Blas de Santillane had many a counterpart. Indeed, it was not until 1886 that it became obligatory for everyone who would practise to be examined in each branch of his profession, and a death certificate could only be signed by one possessing the diploma of such examination. With the medical profession itself in this unorganised condition, what wonder that the laws of health were little understood and hygiene had not become a department of the public service? Strait-waistcoats and coercion



TREATMENT OF THE INSANE EARLY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

From a Sketch by G. Arnold, A.R.A.



DRESS AND COIFFURE IN 1845.
(*World of Fashion.*)

chairs were used in every hospital. When Dr. Conolly went to Hanwell Asylum in 1839 he found for the 800 patients 600 instruments of discipline—handcuffs, leg-locks, and the like. He instituted there a humaner system, and his reforms were widely followed; but far less rapidly in the private and uncontrolled asylums, whose abuses Charles Reade exposed with so much effect. Broadly speaking, medical science was itself uncertain and the power of the medical profession slight. Hence the masses of the people endured abominations of insanitation and suffered physical miseries and preventable death to an extent happily now unknown. The mitigation of human suffering on these counts has been great indeed; and, as we shall have occasion to show later on, not a little improvement is due to the work of Edward VII. before he came to the Throne, and his energies were absorbed in affairs of State.

This chapter may fittingly close on a lighter note. In women's dress the period was that of the crinoline—now an historical curiosity—though who can tell when it may not be revived? There have been attempts at revival—or at least threats

of revival—in these early years of the twentieth century, and indeed, when fashionable, it was but a re-incarnation under another name of the Elizabethan farthingale. According to Miss Mary Bateson the crinoline, which was *la mode* in Paris in 1854, was a remedy against tight-lacing, all fashionable dresses being laced up the back, where the lady's maid could bring all her muscular force to bear.

"As the advertisements announced, the crinoline made the dress appear sufficiently full and in proper contrast to the waist, 'thereby sparing the necessity and agony, as well as injury, of tight-lacing.' The term crinoline was applied to the stiff material of horse-hair used to distend skirts, and then to the ribbons of steel which took its place. To make a crinoline four narrow steels covered with tape were run into a calico slip or petticoat. . . . Before this invention was made, and while skirts were merely stiffened or held out by a dozen or more petticoats, true gentility was best shown by the way in which the arms were drawn down to keep the voluminous mantle, Paisley or cashmere shawl, in its proper folds, while the hands, clasped in front, held a lace pocket-handkerchief or reticule. The shawl was fastened with a large cameo brooch. During the same period (1840–50), silk and satin aprons trimmed with lace or guimp were worn indoors, as in the Queen Anne period.

"In 1860 the skirt over the crinoline was trimmed with three deep flounces, scalloped and vandyked to break the size of the circle. A long loose jacket bodice was worn with sleeves made *en pagode*, wide at the cuff and set in low on the shoulder, where a muslin under-sleeve was attached which fitted tightly to the

wrist. In 1864 there was a short rage for scarlet 'Garibaldi bodies' held in by tight waist-belts. Boots to the ankle, white stockings, little round hats with a single pen-feather at the side, complete the costume.

"The changes in the shape and size of bonnets were rapid; within the space of a few years there were velvet and beaver bonnets with lace curtains at the back, filled with lace quilling and artificial flowers under the brim which surrounded the face, the coal-scuttle bonnet, the bonnet of drawn white silk, the bonnet fitting close in front, and bonnets with long veils hanging from a string. While very large bonnets were worn, tiny fringed parasols were in fashion. The hair showed very little out of doors, and from 1840-50 the best effect was made by those who had well-shaped heads, with only a small quantity of straight hair. About 1836 the wicker-work plaits then in fashion, made of eight or nine strands plaited in an elaborate pattern, put nature to severe trial, but in 1840 ringlets over the ears and side-partings drove out the stiffer fashion. In 1846 came the smooth bandeaux plastered down with bandoline, and whereas in 1836 every girl had one artificial flower over the left ear in the evening, so in 1845 she wore a wreath. At the beginning of the crinoline period the hair was covered with a net spangled with jet beads, and at this time wide flapping straw hats came in. In 1865 the Alexandra curl and the chignon were fashionable, necessitating much false hair, for the bonnet was worn tip-tilted at the back to display as much hair as possible."

As for men, trousers had long before come into general use, and in the 'forties the high black satin stocks were going out of

fashion, though it was not until the 'fifties that white collars and suitable neckties were worn. Civilians were clean shaven, and it was the custom to wear the hair full. Portraits of the Prince of Wales when quite a young man show waves of thick hair falling over his ears. Only the cavalry wore moustachios when King Edward was a lad. A man with a beard was either a Jew, an eccentric, or a visitor from Russia. The war in the Crimea changed the vogue. Military regulations which required the infantry to shave were not easily obeyed in the trenches before Sebastopol, and whether they liked it or not the men had to allow their beards to grow; and they found them so good a protection against the icy winds that, when opportunities came to cut them off, they merely trimmed them and brushed them outwards to make the most of them, in some cases shaving the chin alone, to emphasise a hairy ferocity of visage. When the warriors came home the women of England went into raptures about those beards. It was imperative for every civilian to grow one forthwith or suffer the scorn of the fair. The age of beards began. In order to accentuate the effect of the beard, the hair of the head was cropped more closely. The growth, the cultivation, the right treatment of the



BONNETS IN 1845.
(*World of Fashion.*)

whiskers became the absorbing pursuit of young manhood.

As for the dress, the morning coat with side-flap pockets, the frock coat, the light French silk hat in lieu of the very tall beaver chimney pot in which our grandfathers played cricket when they were young, and the round felt hat worn with a jacket for unceremonial occasions—these garments and headgear had become stereotyped during the period under review.

As for the dress of children it has been wittily said that the skirts of the little girls were short and their trousers long, and that when the little girls had themselves lengthened, the skirts were long and

the trousers—so it was to be inferred—were short. The little boys of the period were dressed as our illustration depicts. A suit of black broadcloth—one suit for a lifetime—was the “best” wear of the artisan and the small tradesman. Horse racing was the sport of the wealthy; cricket the game of all classes. golf had not yet crossed the Border, and football had not arrived; cock-fighting had not wholly died out; prize-fighting was still held in high esteem; and in the democratic quarters of the cities—especially in the Midlands and the north—many a public-house had a ratpit as well as a skittle-alley. These are but some aspects of the national life of that day.



JUVENILE FASHIONS IN 1851.

CHAPTER IX.

THE BOY PRINCE AND THE CONDITION OF EUROPE.

France in Revolt—Guizot Interferes—A Fatal Mistake—The Tuileries Besieged—Louis Philippe Signs his Abdication—Flight to England—General Unrest in Europe—German Troubles—The New Constitution—Prince Metternich and the Austrian Revolution—Kossuth's Gospel—The Second Outbreak—Vienna Surrenders—Chaos in Hungary—A Barbarous War—Italy Rises—Garibaldi's Influence—Cavour and Mazzini—Dawn of Political Liberty in Europe—The War Cloud in the Near East—Turkey and Russia—England Involved—Causes of the Crimean War.

AFFAIRS abroad during the early years of Edward VII. were sufficiently exciting to stimulate unduly the awakening intelligence of youth. If it is remembered that through the life of his family, in the daily doings of the Court, the comings and goings of foreign Royalties and other personages from the Continent, the young prince saw and talked with many of the chief actors, and, no doubt, had their parts in the drama explained to him, it will be seen that he could not fail to have acquired wide and varied knowledge of events, and a clear understanding of their import at an age when a lad born outside a palace remains in happy ignorance of international complications. He was a boy of seven when the thrones of Europe shook and reeled under the pressure of an insurgent democracy and the Bourbon dynasty in France sustained its final overthrow. Echoes of the frequent risings in Paris and the provincial centres reverberated loudly in the English Court, and the comparative quietude which accompanied the reactionary administration of Guizot was everywhere felt to be the prelude to a tremendous upheaval. Superficially, all seemed well, so adroitly and astutely did he manage the Parliamentary system

and give the sanction of legality to the suppression of popular liberties; but beneath the surface there was volcanic discontent, which vented itself ominously at a series of "Reform Banquets" in provincial towns in the summer of 1847. Ostensibly the demands made at these gatherings were for an extension of the franchise and the purging of the Chamber of Deputies, which had been packed by paid nominees of the administration; but in reality the aim was the expulsion of Louis Philippe and the setting up for the second time of a Republican form of government. That was the interpretation put upon them by the King and his Ministers, and when the banquets issued in an arrangement to hold one in Paris itself on the 22nd of February, Guizot published an interdiction. The day broke, and Paris was in a ferment. Under the assurances of the police that the revolutionary elements were cowed, King Louis Philippe had countermanded overnight the preparations that had been made for an imposing disposition of the troops of the City and Departmental garrisons in the streets of the capital. They were kept in distant barracks—a fatal error. Except for insignificant street disorders by a few, the populace waited until after the sitting of the

Chamber, at which the anti-dynastic Opposition gave notice of a proposition for the indictment of Ministers, whom they charged with having betrayed the honour and interests of France abroad, corrupted and destroyed representative government, ruined the finances, and deprived citizens of their rights. The discussion of this was deferred until the 24th, and the Chamber broke up at five in the afternoon. Meanwhile, throughout the afternoon the soldiery who kept the approaches to the Champs Elysées and the Tuileries had had much trouble with bodies of lads under skilled direction who had attempted to throw up barricades; but they were restrained from using their weapons. Dusk fell, and the Government thought that nothing more serious would happen. Indeed, Louis Philippe prepared for dinner in high spirits, after cordial congratulations to one of his Ministers on what he then thought was their successful management of a dangerous situation. "Never," he observed to M. Duchâtel, "have I felt so strong." There was rioting, more or less serious, till midnight. Then it ceased and the exhausted troops and *gendarmes* returned to their quarters. "The Parisians do not make revolution in winter time," observed Louis Philippe. The morning of the 23rd broke in dreary rain. About nine o'clock the mob rose in the crowded streets about the quays. The Government called out the National Guard. That body had placed Louis Philippe on the throne; it would surely suffice to keep him there. But the twelve legions had become infected with the revolutionary spirit. On hearing their drums beating the call to arms of the citizen soldiery, M. Flocon conceived a

daring idea. "Get some National Guard uniforms, quick!" he exclaimed. "Search for them among your friends, in the second-hand clothes shops—anywhere! Dress yourselves in them and go to the Mayor's offices. Take the lead of the detachments. Shout: 'Long Live Reform!' and put yourselves everywhere between the Guards and the people." This was done. Legion after legion joined the populace and demanded the dismissal of the Ministry. Thus within an hour or two the King and the Government had to decide whether to use troops to destroy the National Guard, assuming the troops could be trusted to do that, or capitulate to an insurrection. The King endeavoured to save himself by dismissing Guizot.

"Go through Paris and announce everywhere that the King is changing his Ministry, and agrees to reasonable reform," were the instructions given from the Tuileries to mounted National Guards. But the news was too late. The Republicans had gained control of the mind of the mob. M. Imbard de Saint-Amand, in "The Revolution of 1848," thus describes the opening of the terrible night of the 23rd of February. He tells how the colonel of an infantry regiment, charged with the protection of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Boulevard des Capucines, challenged a mob to halt. A rioter put a torch in his face. A sergeant shot the man dead, and, writing in the present tense, he continues:

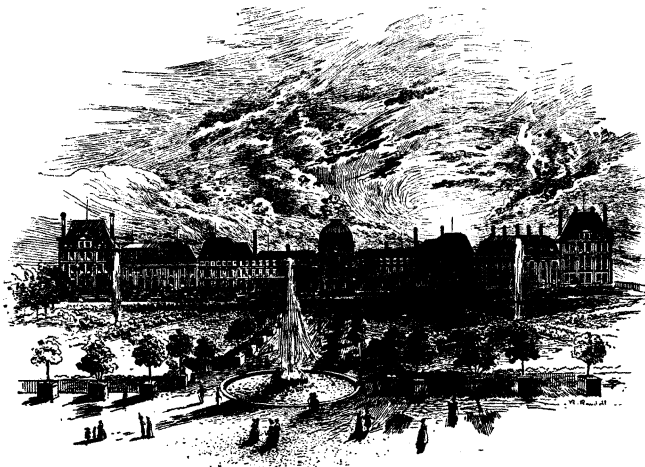
"Thinking themselves menaced, two companies also begin firing, and kill or wound fifty-two persons. The tumult is indescribable. The crowd utter shouts of horror and affright. The foot soldiers disband and hasten into adjacent streets.

The dragoons gallop off at full speed toward the Madeleine. The Causeway and the Boulevard is emptied. It is a pool of blood."

Here is a situation which the revolutionary genius pounces on in an instant. A wagon, loaded with the luggage of travellers about to entrain for Rouen, was just passing by. On this were piled the corpses of sixteen victims of the firing, and by the light of torches, illumining the livid and blood-stained bodies, and to cries of "Vengeance! Treason!" the fatal tumbril begins its march. Such a spectacle is the most striking, the most sinister, the most decisive, of all revolutionary propaganda. Is there a scene in

Lamartine's "Histoire des Girondins" which surpasses this in horror? The crowd shouts: "They are cutting the people's throats! To arms! To the barricades!" And until two o'clock in the morning the funeral procession, in the midst of violent public exasperation, goes travelling about the boulevards and the most populous quarters without anyone daring to stop it.

The troops were badly handled. They had little heart for their work. They were overborne by the mob where they did not retreat. On the morning of the 24th the King was to review a body of five thousand soldiers charged with the defence of the Tuileries. The regiments assembled



THE PALACE OF THE TUILERIES, PARIS, AS IT WAS.

royalties whom he knew as a lad were to furnish him with unforgettable lessons in the vicissitudes of rulers and in the art of kingship. He was able, while yet a child, to trace a connection between the doings which had driven Louis Philippe to become a fugitive on English soil and the Chartist movement, to which they gave a notable impetus in England. He must have heard of the riots in Glasgow when the news of Louis Philippe's fall was

made known—how ten thousand men assembled on the green, armed with muskets and iron railings, and set to work to pillage the city; how the perils of like scenes as in Paris were averted in England by the resolution of the Government and the co-operation of the middle classes.

In Germany, Austria, and Italy the effects of the outbreak in Paris were swift and far-reaching. Germany was a confederation of states, with a Diet made up of plenipotentiaries of each monarchy. Absolutism was varied in degree; but, broadly stated, the people, especially of the kingdom of Prussia, were ruled with a rod of iron. The powder was dry; the train was already laid; it needed only a spark from Paris to set it alight. Constitutions were demanded in Baden, Hesse-Cassel, and Bavaria, and the monarchies saved only by capitulation to the people. The citizens of Berlin revolted. Tumult reigned for a week; the country was verging on Civil War. "The state of Germany is dreadful," wrote Queen Victoria, whose point of view was naturally that of the palace rather than the barricade, "and one does feel quite ashamed at that once really so peaceful and happy people. That there are still good people there I am sure, but they allow themselves to be worked upon in a frightful and shameful way." The Prussian people had, however, no reason to be ashamed of themselves, for they compelled



A BIT OF OLD FRANKFORT.

Photo: Frith Reigate.



THE ROYAL PALACE, BERLIN.

Frederick William IV., an accomplished man, with a hatred of free institutions and an exaggerated idea of the sacro-sanctity of his own prerogatives, to open his eyes and look at realities. Confronted with the choice of losing his throne or bending to the popular will, he promised reform, and placed himself at the head of the popular movement. Says the writer of one contemporary account:—

“ On the 18th of March, 1848, he issued an ordinance against convoking a meeting of the Diet, which had closed its session only a fortnight before. In this document he stated that he demanded that Germany should be transformed from a confederation of states to one federal state, with constitutional representation, a general military system after the Prussian model, a single federal banner, a common law of settlement for all Germany, and the right of all Germans to change their abode in every part of the Fatherland, with the abolition of all custom-house barriers to commercial intercourse, with uniformity of weights, measures, and coinage, and liberty of the press throughout Germany. Thereby he placed himself at the head of the United Germany movement.

“ Meanwhile difficulties thickened daily about the King. His Cabinets resigned in rapid succession; there were no less than five of them between March and October; till at last he got a man of nerve for Prime Minister, in the person of Count von Brandenburg. The Ministry addressed a document to the King for the purpose of disclaiming on his behalf the desire to become German Emperor, stating that his assuming the German colours, and putting himself at the head of the movement for German unity, and proposing to summon a meeting of the sovereigns and states did not justify the interpretation it had received; that it was not his intention to anticipate the unbiassed decision of the sovereign princes and the people of Germany by offering to undertake the temporary direction of German affairs. Thus the King was obliged to back quietly out of a position which he had rashly assumed. The United Diet acted as being itself only a temporary institution, having established the electoral law on the basis of universal suffrage in order to prepare the way for a Constituent Assembly, by which means the revolutionary spirit penetrated to the very extremities of Prussian society.

"The first session of the National Assembly was opened by the King in person on the 22nd of May, but it did not conduct itself in a manner to recommend universal suffrage, or to make the friends of orderly government enamoured of revolution. Eventually it was dispersed by force. The new Chambers were opened on the 26th of February by the King in person, Count Brandenburg having led him to the throne. He stated that circumstances having obliged him to dissolve the National Assembly, he had granted to the nation a Constitution which by its provisions fulfilled all his promises made in the month of March. This Constitution was modelled after that of Belgium. The House was to consist of two Chambers, both elective—the former by persons paying 24s. a year of direct taxes, and the latter by a process of double election: that is, the deputies were chosen by delegates, who had themselves been elected by universal suffrage, there being one deputy for every 750 inhabitants. All Prussians were declared equal in the eye of the law, freedom of the Press was established, and all exclusive class privileges were abolished. The judges were made independent of the Crown, and no ordinance was to have the force of law without the sanction of the Assembly.

"The Frankfort Parliament had spent a year doing nothing but talking. They came, however, to the important resolution of offering the Imperial Crown of Germany to the King of Prussia. As soon as the Prussian Assembly heard this, they adopted an address to the King, earnestly recommending him to accept the proffered dignity. They were deeply interested by seeing the house of Hohen-

zollern called to the direction of the Fatherland, and they hoped he would take into his strong hands the guidance of the destinies of the German nation. On the 3rd of April, 1849, the King received the Frankfort deputation commissioned to present to him the Imperial Crown. He declined the honour unless the several governments of the German states should approve of the new Imperial Constitution, and concur in the choice of the Assembly. As soon as this reply was made known, the second Prussian Chamber adopted a motion of 'urgency,' and prepared an address to the King, entreating him to accept the glorious mission of taking into firm hands the guidance of the destiny of regenerated Germany, in order to rescue it from the incalculable dangers that might arise from the conflicting agitations of the time. The address was carried only by a small majority. The King had good reason for refusing the Imperial diadem; first, because Austria, Würtemberg, Bavaria, and Hanover decidedly objected; and secondly because the King required changes in the Frankfort Constitution which the Parliament refused to make. These facts enabled his Majesty to discover that the imperial supremacy was 'an unreal dignity, and the Constitution only a means gradually, and under legal pretences, to set aside authority, and to introduce the Republic.' In July the state of siege was terminated in Berlin, and the new elections went in favour of the Government."

Under Prince Metternich, Austria was governed with an autocratic severity felt by no other state in Europe, and the Emperor Ferdinand V. was the personification of absolute monarchy. The Holy

Alliance, by which the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian sovereigns professed to secure "religion, peace, and justice," but which they used to extinguish in their dominions the principle of freedom, had, since the downfall of Napoleon, kept the Teutonic and Slav races in abject subjection. We have seen what the King of Prussia wrote to Queen Victoria, and that passage will serve to give their point of view. Religion, peace, and justice were synonymous in their minds with a continuance of their own absolute power over their subjects. Ferdinand, or Metternich for him, was the incarnation of the doctrines of the Alliance. But the thoughts of men are inextinguishable by monarchs and their instruments, and the dominions of the

House of Hapsburg, which then included the greater part of Italy, were seething with revolt, despite the repressive measures of the authorities. The news of Louis Philippe's fall reached Vienna on the 1st of March, 1848. No censorship of the Press could suffice to keep it from the public; no menace of military power prevent the translation into action of the thoughts it excited. Powerful causes other than those arising from the denial of any share in the government were also at work—causes of old

standing—to produce a convulsion. Kossuth was abroad in Hungary, preaching the doctrine that the rich also should be taxed and political liberty be given to the poor; there was a Liberal party in Austria itself—the prisons full of its leaders. On the 13th the Viennese rose in arms and engaged the Imperial troops. The outcome of a bloody day's work was the flight of Metternich and the promise

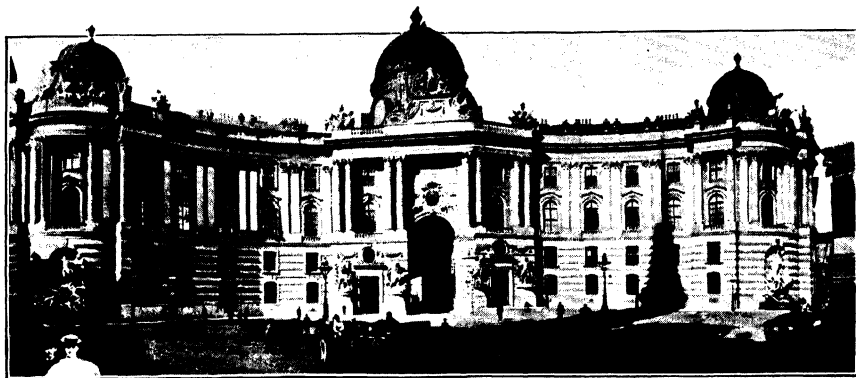
of a Constitution by Ferdinand. But promises were not enough. Still further concessions were demanded and given. Fresh demands were made, and the King took fright lest the revolutionaries should depose him, and fled secretly with his family on the night of May 17th to Innsbruck in the Tyrol. The Viennese had no



PRINCE METTERNICH.

From the Painting by Sir T. Lawrence, P.R.A.

intention to deal harshly with him, and urged him to return. Meanwhile, the revolution spread throughout the empire; but the Emperor would not stir. He remained here throughout the summer, and took a full personal share in the welter of intrigue through which the different parties sought an accommodation of interests. Thus he and his government appear to have been acting in complicity with the Croats in ravaging the Hungarians, for whom Count Batthyányi and Louis Kossuth had won a Constitu-



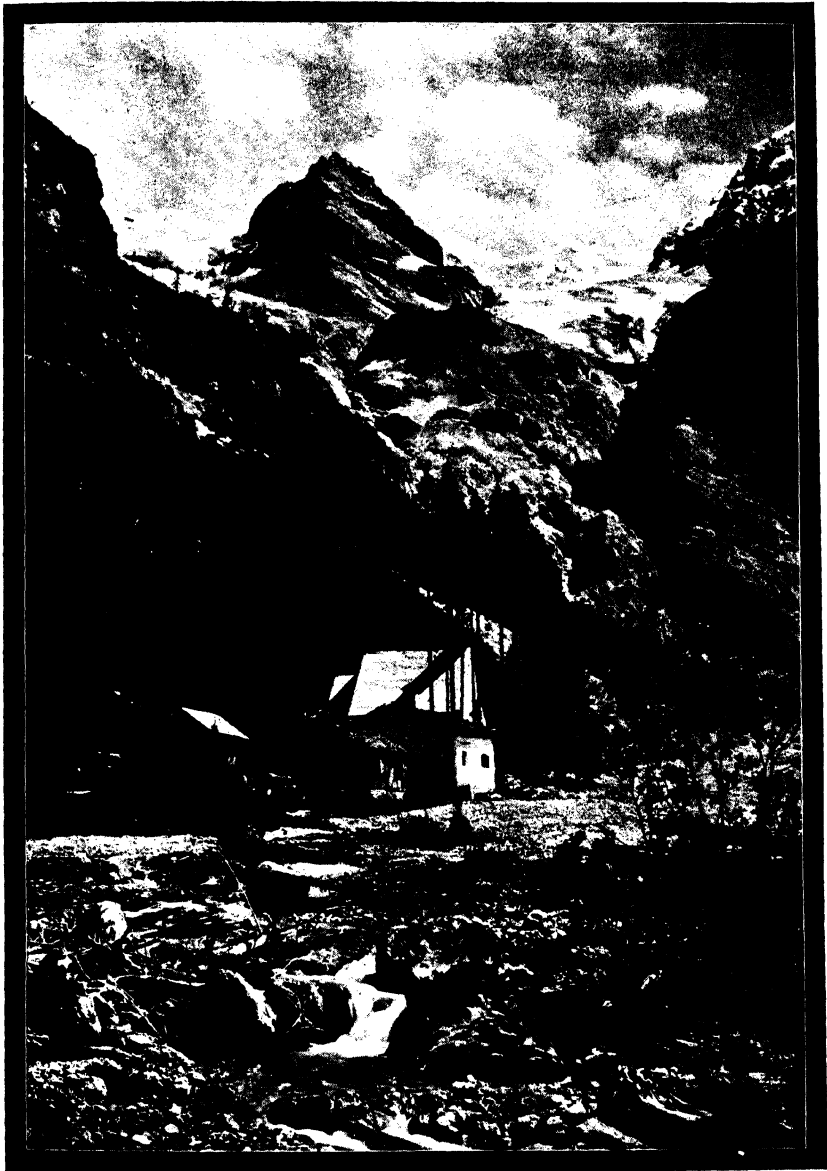
THE HOFBURG, VIENNA.

Photo: C. F. Czihak, Vienna.

tion. Jellachich, the Ban, or Governor, of Croatia, derived the funds for his aggressions from the Imperial Government. Hungary appealed to the National Diet at Vienna for aid, which was refused. Hungary thereupon split asunder from Austria and made Kossuth dictator. The Emperor, who had returned to Vienna, annulled the Hungarian Constitution, appointed Jellachich Commander-in-Chief in Hungary with unlimited powers, and sought to crush the insurrection. Kossuth declared the independence of Hungary. The Viennese again took to arms as a protest against the appointment of Jellachich, and for a second time the Emperor took refuge in flight. "But," says the writer of "Cassell's History of England," "the triumph of the insurgents was brief. From Radetzky, triumphant in Italy, from Windischgratz, at Prague, and from Jellachich, in Hungary, came assurances that they were making haste to rally round the Emperor's flag, and to cause it to wave in triumph over the vanquished revolution. The last with his Croats moved up by forced marches, availing himself of the Southern Railway,

and on the 9th of October he was within two hours' march of Vienna. On the news of the approach of this formidable enemy consternation seized the Viennese. The reinforcements brought by Windischgratz swelled the Imperial forces at Vienna to 70,000 men. In the presence of this host, hanging like an immense thunder-cloud charged with death and ruin over the capital, the citizens relied chiefly upon the Hungarian army. But this was held in check by the Croatian army; and Kossuth, deeming it prudent not to enter into the contest, withdrew his troops within the bounds of Hungarian territory. On the 28th, Prince Windischgratz began to bombard the city, and the troops advanced to the assault. The Hungarians at last advanced in aid of the insurgents, but were beaten off, and on the night of the 31st of October the city surrendered, and was in possession of the Imperial troops.

"A new Ministry was appointed, with Prince Schwarzenberg at its head, and on the 2nd of December the Emperor abdicated in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph, whose father, Francis Charles,



A TYPICAL SCENE IN AUSTRIA: THE MOUNTAIN REGION ABOUT TRAFOL.

Photo supplied by Austrian State Railways.

dawn to dusk. Four thousand Piedmontese died that day for Italy. Wherever the fire was fiercest there was the King, but even death refused to help him. He lived to see the disastrous defeat of his hopes. He lived to experience, by no fault of his own, an ignominious failure." With the evening came defeat and rout. The rain was falling in torrents. The Piedmontese soldiers, now disbanded, were hurrying from the scene of action. Carts full of the wounded were encumbering the streets, while all the time the Austrian artillery kept up its deadly fire. It was under these circumstances that Charles Albert, after the day's disaster, stood wrapped in melancholy beneath the walls of Novara. "So Italy fell," writes Botta, "on the plains of Novara, on the lagoons of Venice, within the walls of

her ancient capital. She was defeated because she was not united; because while Turin was fighting for the common cause, Naples and Palermo bowed under the Bourbon yoke, and Rome and Florence allowed themselves to become enamoured of the teachings of Mazzini."

Charles Albert abdicated; his son, Victor Emmanuel—destined to be the first sovereign of united Italy—signed the Austrian terms of peace; in Northern Italy things were as they were before 1848. All that had been accomplished was the enrichment of the plains with Austrian and Italian blood. Elsewhere in Italy Austria regained her position. Republicanism was everywhere repressed. In the Papal states the revolutionaries fared no better than elsewhere. Louis



THE VATICAN AND ST. PETER'S, ROME.

Photo: Alinari, Rome.



THE GRAND CANAL, VENICE.

Photo: C. Naya, Venice.

Napoleon, now master of France, snatched the glory of recovering Rome itself from the Garibaldeans. Pius IX. was set upon his throne again by French bayonets. Further than this the narrative need not now be taken. We have written enough to show how dramatic and exciting were the events in Europe from which the young Prince of Wales derived his early understanding of European affairs. If in point of time this survey is restricted, that is a calculated restriction, because the overthrow of Louis Philippe marks the commencement of Constitutional rule among the hitherto absolutist states of Europe. It meant the dawn of political liberty for vast populations and a readjustment in the relations of Monarchy and Democracy over an enormous area where the forces of reaction had been supreme. But it had no discernible effect in Russia. To that great Power the expanding mind of the Prince of Wales was attracted by a war which the English people blundered

into without clearly understanding the principle for which they fought.

The difficulties with Russia did not, however, become acute until 1853, up to which time we may leave the central Powers struggling to adapt themselves to their new Constitutions—clumsy misfits they were for the most part. Queen Victoria's letters enable us to see the point of view from which the young Prince would be required to regard this momentous chapter in the story of modern Europe. One can imagine by the following extract from a letter to the King of the Belgians the class of ideas instilled into his mind: "The state of the Continent is deplorable; the folly of Austria and the giving way of Prussia are lamentable. *Our* influence on the Continent is *nil*. Add to this, we are between two fires in *this* country: a furious Protestant feeling and an enraged Catholic feeling in Ireland. I believe that Austria fans the flame at Rome and

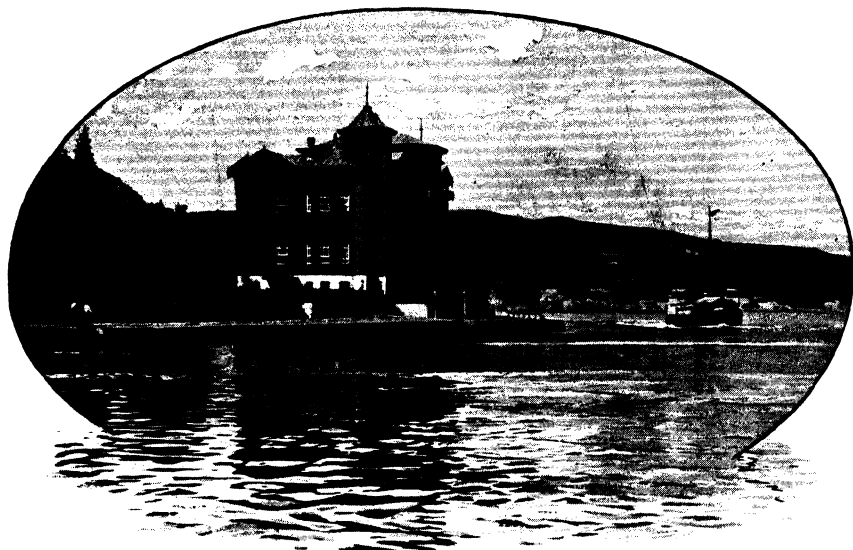


Photo : Sébah & Joaillier, Constantinople.

THE BRITISH EMBASSY, CONSTANTINOPLE.

that the whole movement on the Continent is *anti-Constitutional, anti-Protestant, and anti-English.*"

It was the clever, scheming, and astutely ambitious Louis Napoleon who stirred up trouble in the East, as early as 1850, by intervening on behalf of the Latin Christians in their quarrel with the Greek Christians over the custody of the Holy Places at Jerusalem. The Greeks had excluded the Latins, and the Latins appealed to France to exercise her Treaty rights of protection: matters not so remote from the Prince of Wales as they may seem, for we may be sure that the youth who stood by the Queen when the wounded soldiers limped past her on the Horse Guards Parade understood the quasi-religious genesis of the war. The Turks—the owners of the territory—cared nothing for the squabble, or which side won; Russia, the inheritor

of the faith of the Byzantine Empire, cared much, and advanced a claim to the protection of all Greek Christians in Turkey. This claim was resisted by the Porte. Russia pressed it, and massed an army on the Turkish frontier. Simultaneously the whole question of Turkey in Europe and Turkish oppression in the Balkan provinces was raised. The ultimate object was the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire to the aggrandisement of Russia and Austria. On the 5th of May, 1853, Russia sent what was, in effect, an ultimatum to the Porte reiterating the demand for a protectorate of all Greek Christians in the empire, and allotting five days as the period of compliance. This demand was inconsistent with assurances given by the Czar to England, and the English Government and people complained that he had played them false. The British fleet was at once placed at



SEBASTOPOL IN 1854.

After W. Telbin.

the disposal of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe for the assistance of Turkey should she be attacked ; and the French Emperor, who had sent a French fleet to "cruise in Greek waters," sent orders to it to act in concert with us. A trenchant dispatch from Lord Stratford de Redcliffe convinced the English nation that the Czar had broken his word and was not to be trusted. In this state of mind they rushed into the war. The Czar Nicholas was equally precipitate in convincing himself that England had egged Turkey on to defy him, and had thus cost Russia the loss of a treaty with the Porte by which peace might have been preserved ; and, through Count Nesselrode, he raved at our energetic and strong-willed Ambassador, but for whom, there is little doubt, the Porte would have allowed itself to be bullied into compliance with the Czar's demands. Thus matters drifted on—Russian troops on the frontier, British and French fleets outside the Dardanelles, and the English war minister forming a military camp at Chobham, where the Queen, mounted

on a magnificent charger, reviewed her troops. But the Prince of Wales was down with measles, and did not see these significant manœuvres. While the diplomatists still laboured for peace, the Turkish and Russian armies moved within striking distance, and the Russian fleet left Constantinople, committed acts of war off the Asiatic coast, caught the Turkish fleet in the harbour at Sinope, and destroyed it and the town, with a loss of four thousand Turkish lives. Great Britain, France, Austria and Prussia thereafter demanded the withdrawal of the Russian army from the principalities. There was still a slight chance of peace. But Prussia refused to undertake to enforce the demand, and Austria reserved her liberty of action. Says "Cassell's Illustrated History of England" :

"The Western Powers having had no misgivings respecting the nature of the reply their summons would receive, had accelerated their preparations for war. Before the summons was in the hands of Count Nesselrode, the British fleet intended for the Baltic had steamed out

from Portsmouth, in the presence of Queen Victoria. This took place on the 11th of March [1854], when Her Majesty witnessed the departure of sixteen steamers, subsequently augmented to forty-four ships, of which only six were sailing vessels.

The whole, under the command of Sir Charles Napier, mounted 2,200 guns, and were manned by 22,000 men. Three battalions of the Guards and several regiments of the line had already embarked for Malta, and cavalry and infantry were in course of rapid preparation. At the same time the French Government

began to collect troops at Toulon and Marseilles, and in Algeria."

Our Foreign Minister's Note, declaring that a refusal to evacuate would be regarded as equivalent to a declaration of war, was treated contemptuously by the Czar. "I have taken His Majesty's commands with reference to Lord Clarendon's Note," observed Count Nesselrode "and the Emperor does not think it becoming to make any reply to it." The writer already quoted says:

"Thus the flames kindled by the pride of the Czar and the ambition of his Western rival, grew fiercer, and began to burn with astonishing power and intensity. Nothing was wanting to war but the formal declaration, and this was not

wanting long.

Captain Blackwood had landed with the Czar's negative defiance. On the 27th of March the Queen sent down a Royal message to Parliament stating that the endeavor of her Government to serve the peace had failed, and that she relied on the zeal of her Parliament to support her in protecting the dominions of the Sultan



Photo: Payne, Aylesbury.

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE AT SCUTARI.

from Russian encroachments. On the 28th war was declared, and on the 31st both Houses agreed to an Address, recording the aggressions of Russia, and expressing a firm determination to resist them. On the 3rd of April a very large body of peers of all parties, and three hundred members of the House of Commons, headed by the Speaker, presented the Addresses, in answer to the Royal message, to Her Majesty at Buckingham Palace, who,



THE CAVALRY CHARGE AT BALACLAVA, OCTOBER 25th, 1854.

seated on her throne, with Prince Albert on the one hand and the Prince of Wales on the other, received these genuine representatives of the spirit and determination of her whole people. On the day that war was declared the British fleet anchored in the bay of Kiel. On the 11th of April the Czar issued his declaration of war, in which he again, in a strain of religious exaltation, declared that Russia took up arms for no worldly interests, but for 'the Christian faith. for the defence of her co-religionists oppressed by implacable enemies.' 'It is for the Faith and for Christendom that we combat! God with us—who against us?'"

Inadequate as this summary of the causes of the war and the negotiations for its prevention must be, it is a necessary addition to a narrative of such foreign affairs as were brought within the range of the Prince of Wales's intelligence. The war itself is too large a theme for the scope of this work; but no lively imagination is needed to infer that the young Prince followed its course with intense interest. The generation that knew the England that clamoured for war in 1854, that watched as the young Prince of Wales watched the passage of the troops to the ports and the departure of the transports, has now but few survivors. Soon there will be none amongst us who remember the agonising delays, the exultation at the rare and indecisive victories, the pride in the gallantry of our arms, the sorrow at the appalling tale of death, the fierce anger at the breakdown of our military system, and the horror and shame caused by the revelations as to the condition of the field hospitals. Through these things the young Prince lived, and to their import he could not have been

insensible. If the anxiety of the nation was intense, that of the Royal family was also profound, though, unlike innumerable families in the country, no blood relation fell in the field. The Queen's health suffered. The atmosphere of the Court was depressing. There could have been little joy in life for a young Prince in those gloomy years; there must have been much cause for wondering reflection on human affairs, much self-questioning about the duties that might fall to his lot. As Sovereign, Edward VII. was pre-eminently a man who sought peace: he had known in boyhood what war means. He had seen its surviving victims hobble past him, maimed and suffering, the miserable and pathetic wrecks of men whom he had watched depart in the glory and pride of youth. He had seen the nation in agonies of suspense and in universal mourning. He had lived through a time in England when there was scarcely a family, high or low, which was not mourning for a member dead, or racked with anxiety about a loved one exposed to death. Shall we be wrong if we infer that these experiences of the days of the war with Russia, and the knowledge of the state of Europe which he had by this time acquired, determined his mind against war and led him to resolve that if it were his fortune to sit on the throne the object of his reign should be the conciliation of opposing interests, whether international or domestic? That was the keynote of his life as King; and the reader will perhaps agree that it is not an undue exercise of fancy to think that it was first sounded in the mind of the boy Prince during the dramatic and disturbing but educative years here passed under review.

CHAPTER X

THE OVERSEA DOMINIONS IN THE YOUTH OF EDWARD VII.

The Beginnings of Empire—Edward's Imperialistic Training—South Africa at the Dawn of the Nineteenth Century—Later Days of the Grand Trek—Boer *v.* Zulu—A Glimpse of Kruger's Youth—The Trouble in 1848—The Bloemfontein Convention—Canada in Turmoil—A Change for the Better—The Act of Union—Settlement of the Boundary Question—Lord Elgin's Work—Early Colonization in Australasia—The Maori Wars—Finding Gold in Australia—Growth of the Continent-Colony—Events in Afghanistan and India—Incidents of the Mutiny—Some of its Causes.

IT was King Edward VII. who added to the title of the Crown that of Lord of the British Dominions beyond the Seas ; his mother, Queen Victoria, who assumed for herself and her successors the Imperial diadem of India. We have taken a bird's-eye view of the social conditions of this island realm during the years of his boyhood, and have reviewed a phase of the contemporaneous history of Europe in such manner as will have associated the growth of his mind with a striking development of continental affairs in their relationship to the English monarchy and people.

The like service remains to be performed with regard to the inhabitants of the vast territories oversea which had been added to the Crown under earlier Sovereigns—with the exception, principally, of the West Indies, under the House of Hanover and Queen Victoria's more immediate predecessors. Little explanation is needed in justification of an attempt to discharge this duty, however cursorily and incompletely from the historical standpoint the work must be done, for Edward VII. was the Sovereign of an Empire, not alone of Great Britain and Ireland. His life ran parallel with an amazing development and his

reign opened an era of consolidation, of inter-racial fusion, of political re-organisation, of a momentous absorption of ethnologically inferior races of mankind into her Christian system of civilisation. The "use of the globes" was a feature of education in the Victorian age which has fallen into disuse in our own day. In our childhood a revolving sphere of the earth, with continents and oceans clearly delineated, and encircled with lines of latitude and longitude, stood in every nursery or morning room, and served to familiarise infancy and youth with the form of the planet, the divisions of its surface into land and water, and among the races and nations of men. It was the vogue in the early days of photography, about the time of the peace in the Crimea, to "take" ingenious youth in an attitude of studious contemplation, with one of these spheres standing on a little table or figuring in the background. We have seen a portrait of the Royal children, though we cannot now trace it, with one of these symbols of geographical instruction used in all probability to suggest the magnitude of the region over which the eldest boy was to rule in years to come. Even in those days, separated from us by a narrow sixty years, an infinitesimal part of a moment in the

life of mankind, these globes were remarkable for the enormous area of the earth's surface which figured under the British Crown, and for the wide tracts which were marked as desert or unknown, or unexplored. In a sense they suggest,

of them in Africa to the British Empire either actually or, as in the case of Egypt and the Soudan, informally, and the apportionment of the rest to other nations by agreement with us during the lifetime of King Edward.



A NATAL NATIVE IN WAR DRESS.

Photo: G. T. Ferneyhough, F.R.G.S.

despite the known antiquity of the civilisations that had arisen and had fallen in the East and on the shores of the Mediterranean, that the world was yet in its infancy. A globe of to-day would record the progress made. It would show a shrinkage almost to nothing of the unknown areas; the addition of much

Another aspect of contrast between then and now—and by then, the early years of Edward VII. are meant—and we shall have done with these preliminaries. When the boy Prince was handling the revolving spheroid it would have been the duty of his tutor—and Mr. Birch was no narrow, formal pedagogue, teaching from an out-of-date textbook, but a man of ideas and imagination—to point out to him that in this region and that under the sway of Victoria, or being then brought thereunder, drastic changes were going on by racial impact, by war, by political conflict, as the case might be, and that problems of Imperial government were arising which would call for settlement in the pupil's manhood. Of this, at least, we can be quite sure—that neither Mr. Birch nor Mr. Gibbs, and certainly not the Prince's parents, allowed him to grow to manhood without keeping in touch from childhood with the life of the British possessions across the waters. Nor would Dean Wellesley and other religious

instructors have failed to communicate to his mind a sense of the special responsibilities which devolved upon us, by the accident of political control and the policy of Imperial expansion, towards great masses of mankind on a lower plane of mental development, and until then outside the range of Christian thought.

These things were part of the Royal scheme of education, and served to mould the Prince into an Imperialist. The rant of Imperialism, the felonious hypocrisies of the exploiters of barbarian aborigines by gin and rifles, by cajolery and violence, and by expulsion of fighting peoples through the persuasive and murderous eloquence of machine guns, he regarded with profound disfavour. That sort of Imperialist Edward VII. never was, either as Prince of Wales or King. As Sovereign, he set his face against all avoidable extensions of Empire. His Imperialism was rooted in a sense of justice and a

love of peace: it was sane Imperialism.

We shall have occasion to trace his share in the great reconciliation of the Dutch race with the British in South Africa after the war that clouded the declining years of Victoria. The ideas of age were in this instance the fruition of the impressions formed in youth. While the Prince was in infancy, the great trek of the Boer farmers was still going on—from the Boer point of view a repetition of the escape of the Israelites from the oppression of the Pharaohs.

By the time the Prince became of an age to know that Cape Colony was ours and would be his, he would have learned of that most dramatic migration from the shadow of Table Mountain to the upland wilds of the unknown plateau, from which stories came to the colonial homesteads of a mighty wave of Zulu conquest which had submerged the indigenous tribes.



CAPE TOWN IN 1780.

From an old print.

And he would have learned, also, of its cause—how during the preceding years slavery had been abolished wherever the British flag was flown; how the payment of compensation to the Boer farmers had been mismanaged; what a proud and wilful and intractable people they were; how, rather than submit to control and live in quietness with their English rulers, they had preferred to brave the dangers of the wilderness; and how, by resolution and straight shooting, they waged successful war with the Zulu hordes who



BLOEMFONTEIN, AS IT WAS.

Photo: B. W. Canev, Durban.

contested their passage, though not without repeated disaster to themselves, and thus won wide regions of pasturage in the hinterland, where they could raise their flocks and herds remote from the presence and authority of the British, and there set up a form of government to their own liking.

It is a story scarcely less romantic than that of the early Crusades. The advance party of the trekkers perished by the spear, by fever, by hunger and thirst. Having learned the lesson of their fate, other parties coalesced, and by virtue of combination, and a good fortune which seems almost providential, were able to inflict so severe a defeat upon the Zulus that the whole of the country between the Orange River and the Limpopo was cleared of these dreaded enemies. Into this region the Boer secessionists flowed, until Cape Colony was almost denuded of its population and reduced to little more than a military station on the highway to India and the farther East.

The trek itself covered more than a decade; and if the boy Prince at Windsor could have been endowed with miraculous retrospective vision, he would have watched a sturdy lad during those years,

gun in hand, starting with a party from Colesberg at the age of eleven, sharing in the great fight which swept the Zulus northward—for the women and children not only loaded the guns for the men, but themselves used them—and growing to hard and splendid manhood amid the perils of the time. That lad was Paul Kruger, one of the great men of modern history, whose destiny it was, by pitting himself against the power of Britain, to bring to pass the reconciliation of Boer and British to which Edward VII. put the seal by the Act of Union sanctioned in the closing months of his life.

While the Prince was at his studies, Kruger was completing his education in the facts of life, not at the hands of tutors and clergy, but alone on the veldt there fighting out within himself the battles of faith and doubt, with no other guide than a Dutch Bible and an inheritance of fiercely emotional Protestantism derived from his family—a family not without distinction, for it can be traced back to Europe of the seventeenth century. Many a forbear had fought with fanatical zeal on the Protestant side in the wars of religion.

He left his farm, his kindred, his friends,

and disappeared into the wilds, living on the spoils of the chase, and never scrupling, we may be sure, to slay any audacious bushman who sought to interfere with him. He returned to such civilisation as pastoral Africa presented in 1851, a man of intense religious convictions and fiery zeal ; a man of strength and powers of leadership and command which quickly gave him a place of direction among his people.

Diverse are the paths by which men attain a niche in the temple of honour ; none could offer a sharper contrast than the sheltered and rose-strewn path trodden by the young Prince and that on the open veldt through which Kruger, ever in imminent peril of death, had to fight his way in boyhood to a farm of his own and economic independence ; then, in voluntary isolation like a hermit of old, to mastery of his own mind and impulses, and thus on to the sovereignty of his race in Africa.

This is not the place to follow his career further. It is enough to have linked it with that of King Edward in boyhood. The formation of the nascent republic, the settling down into two republics ; the ever-present menace of a general native rising which would obliterate them and surge over Cape Town itself ; the fears and anxieties of the British Government

on this account ; the conflict between politicians who would have had us assert control over the secessionists and those who were appalled by the thought of doing so ; the temporary occupation of the Vaal territory by British troops under Sir Harry Smith in 1848 ; the Boer victory over that force at Bloemfontein and the British victory over the Boers at Boomplaatz—all these things must have been made known to the little Prince as he took his early lessons in the geography of his mother's dominions. We need but suggest them to the recollection of the reader, and recall the eventual settlement by the Sand River Convention in 1852. The British Government "guaranteed to the emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal the right to manage their own affairs, and to govern themselves according to their own laws without any interference on the part of the British Government." Thus the South African Republic was born, a fact of small moment then in British eyes, which were concentrated rather, in so far as they were directed to South Africa at all, upon the perils to which Cape Colony was exposed by an interminable series of native wars. As for the territory south of the Vaal, that, by the Convention signed at Bloemfontein in 1854, was also suffered to become a republic, the independence of the



A ZULU KRAAL.

Photo: G. T. Ferneyhough, F.R.G.S.

country and its government being guaranteed by the Crown, which declared that its inhabitants were "to all intents and purposes a free and independent people."

What is the political moral of this narrative—what the underlying fact? It is that a strong-willed and independent race shook itself free from us; rather than remain under the Crown, braved the perils of extinction at the hands of savages, and removed itself, almost in a mass, far beyond

own time—were British subjects as lately as 1836; did not, in fact, cease to be that from the point of view of the Governor of the Cape, however far they betook themselves from the range of the effective jurisdiction of the Crown, for the hinterland was ours in theory, and might have been ours in fact if we had had the courage to declare it so and lay hands upon it. During the youth of the Prince of Wales they ceased to be British subjects. That Prince witnessed in boyhood

the disruption of a colony, a significant secession. The sequel will hereafter be told. Meantime, let us turn to another region of the Empire.

In Upper Canada the political and social conflict between the minor settlers and traders and the aristocratic oligarchy, which claimed to monopolise power because



SOUTH AFRICA IN 1815.
Portion of Map published by C. Smith.

our reach; shed our blood and its own when we made a belated attempt to follow the trekkers up—an attempt made as much in their interest as in our own, and as part of the policy of averting the threatened expulsion of the white race by the black; accomplished its separation from us and maintained it both by force and negotiation, wringing from us in the end the Conventions of 1852 and 1854. These valorous and intractable people—one of the consequences of whose trek was to initiate the opening up of Central Africa and the partition of the continent in our

of its military services to the Crown and the fervour of its loyalty, had, after many difficulties, been closed, as had the rivalry between Upper and Lower Canada, by the Act of Union which followed Lord Durham's term of governorship and the masterly report which he and Charles Buller devised between them for the guidance of English statesmen. That report ended the abysmal ignorance of the English Parliament and people on North American affairs. It did more than give self-government to Canada; it laid down the principles on which the



Photo: J. Gribble, Paarl.

AN "UP COUNTRY" DUTCH SETTLEMENT.



A FRENCH-CANADIAN AT HOME.

subsequent relations of the parent state to the white communities oversea have been shaped. It advised the Crown that government could be carried on in the colonies only by consent of those governed, as expressed through duly chosen representatives.

It is a commonplace doctrine in these days; one would have thought that the triumph of the revolted thirteen provinces would have driven it into the minds of the English governing class half a century before. But it was far from common then. Until the advent of Lord Durham, Canada had been ruled at the bayonet's point, with the result that there was disaffection against the Crown and civil war within the territories—disaffection, the causes of which narrow and unsympathetic official persons at the Colonial Office either would not or could not understand, and therefore had not the ability to cure.

A change of Ministry, however, with Lord John Russell at the Colonial Office, enabled the ideas of the Durham Report to be speedily translated into legislation. In the Session of 1840 a Bill was produced and passed which welded Upper and Lower Canada together under one Legislative Council and one Legislative Assembly, the former with members nominated by the Crown, and the latter composed of eighty-five members elected by popular suffrage. It was the year of Durham's death. He was too ill to take part in the debates. The Royal Assent was given on the 23rd of July; he died in the Isle of Wight on the 28th, a strenuous and brilliant life ended at the early age of forty-eight. He had been scurvily served by the Melbourne Administration, and only in our own time has full honour been paid to his genius in constructive statesmanship. One contemporary, whose literary power was not the least of the glories of the Victorian era, paid him a noble tribute:

Courts may have known, than thee, a readier tool;

States may have found, than thine, a subtler brain;

But states shall honour many a formal fool,
And many a tawdry fawner Courts may gain,
Ere king or people in their need shall see

A soul so grand as that which fled with thee!
For thou wert more than true, thou wert a Truth!

Open as Truth, and yet as Truth profound.
Thy fault was genius—that Eternal Youth,
Whose weeds but prove the riches of the ground.

And dull men envied thee and false men feared,
And where soared genius there convention sneered.

Ah! happy hadst thou fallen foe to foe,
The bright race run—the laurel o'er thy grave!

But hands perfidious sprung the ambushed bow,
And the friend's shaft the rankling torture gave,

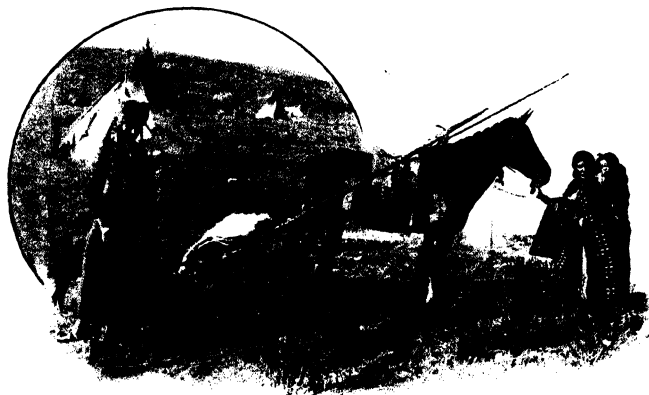
The last proud wish in agony to hide,
The stricken deer to covert crept and died.

The writer was Edward Bulwer Lytton. It were needlessly impolite to say who was indicated by "a formal fool." The Colonial Office had many such in its early years.

The principle that the white communities overseas should govern themselves, and that it was the duty of the Imperial Parliament to provide them with Constitutions through which that could be done, whatever might be thought by ignorant folk at home whose ideas of colonial polity were still those of the Georgian Ministers, had therefore been accepted by the British Parliament in the year before the birth of the Prince. It is an elementary fact of his life as King of the Dominions Oversea and as a constitutional Sovereign; and it accounts for acts of his and influences which he exercised during his reign which would be less easily intelligible if the reader did not start a consideration of them with that fact as a basis of his study. This Act of Union, and all that it implied, would have been interpreted to him by his tutors — if they were as competent and wise and farseeing as they were credited with being — as the foundation-stone of the Imperial edifice which he saw growing up in his youth, and was soon to study at close quarters by a visit to Canada.

And think what colonial self-

government implied: self-defence; for no people can be self-governed for long which is not also able, by virtue of its own inherent strength and organisation, with or without alliance with other peoples, to withstand aggression from without. It implied the attraction to the colonies of Britain of men dissatisfied with forms of government under which they were not free to shape their own destiny—a potent cause in the peopling of colonies. It implied the rise of great populations organised for self-protection; and it implied also a right of free association with the parent state and of severance from that state. Once the principle of colonial self-government was accepted by the Crown, the Crown and people conceded to the colonial populations absolute right of control of the soil of the Colonies, and abandoned their own right to compel them to remain under British sovereignty. Henceforth the constitutional association was to be wholly voluntary, dependent on ties of interest and sentiment, on loyalty freely



A CREE INDIAN'S CAMP,

Photo: Notman, Montreal.

and glories of the campaign. She thus demonstrated her gratitude for the liberties she enjoyed, and proved to those who would have favoured her severance that she did not accept the protection of the parent state without endeavouring to make some return. This established a precedent for colonial participation in the wars of England; and if in Egypt in the 'eighties, and in South Africa in the 'nineties, other Colonies took a hand, the impulse to do so was of Canadian origin. Such an act as sending this regiment to the Crimea would have been impossible in Canada before the Durham regime, at any rate outside Toronto, the centre of the United Empire loyalists—the descendants of those who preferred to be deported under the terms of the Treaty with Washington when the royal cause was lost.

It was during the war that Canada invited the Sovereign to allow the Prince to visit the country, but it was not then thought advisable that he should do so, though a visit was promised for a later period. The mutiny in India also excluded Canadian affairs from attention.

The new Constitution did not always work smoothly. Faction was fierce and active, and men of inferior abilities were sent as Governors. Lord Elgin's Governorship—he had married a daughter of Lord Durham, and she had been with him when High Commissioner, and was a lady of much charm—brought about a new era. He reformed the administration and the services, settled various land and clergy grievances, and dissipated a dangerous movement engineered from the United States for secession to that power. A passage from Dr. Stuart Reid's contribution on the Federation of Canada in Vol. XI. of the "Cambridge Modern His-

tory—The Growth of Nationalities," will serve to illumine the state of the country prior to the Prince's visit:—

"Elgin came to Canada in 1846 with the reputation of a just man; he left it in 1854 with that of a popular and sagacious ruler. He took a bold and independent course, and during his tenure of power nothing was more sharply criticised than his announcement, in 1849, of the Royal assent to the measure entitled 'An Act to provide for the indemnification of parties in Lower Canada whose properties were destroyed during the Rebellion in 1837-8.' Many prominent politicians in Upper Canada, both of the Conservative and Reform parties, raised the cry of 'No pay to rebels,' and some of them went so far as to urge annexation to the United States if such a subsidy was granted. Lord Elgin had the courage to stand firm. He took his stand on the fact that the measure had passed both Houses by large majorities, and he refused to allow any distinction, in this respect, between Upper and Lower Canada, or by reserving the measure to throw on the Imperial Government a responsibility which he justly claimed 'ought to rest with the Governor-General of Canada.' By his courageous action at this crisis Lord Elgin won the sympathies of the French-Canadians, and effectually prevented Lower Canada from falling, for the second time, into the mischievous hands of Papineau. Elgin strengthened the links which bound the Colony to the Mother Country; and, besides settling the knotty problems of land tenure in Lower Canada, he helped to repeal the Navigation Laws, and thus gave a stimulus to the shipping and trade of the Colony. In 1854 a reciprocity Treaty was con-



A COLONIST'S HOMESTEAD BY THE CHAT'S RAPIDS, OTTAWA RIVER.

as any uninstructed citizen. The conception of an Imperial constellation consisting of a parent state and a number of mighty and populous offspring states under one Sovereign, and organised as a whole for defence against the rest of the world, whatever portion or whatever sectional interest might be attacked, had not dawned upon the early Victorian intellect. That conception was to come, under the inspiration of Mr. Balfour, the creator of the Committee of Imperial Defence, of Mr. Chamberlain, with his ideas of mutual fiscal sacrifices for the sake of Imperial solidarity, of Mr. Haldane with his schemes of an Imperial army in the latter years of Victoria and during the reign of Edward VII.

With colonial self-government as a basic principle of kingcraft and statesmanship, we will now pass in brief review the story of Canada up to 1860, the year of the Prince of Wales's visit, which will receive separate treatment at a later stage.

The boundary difficulty with the United States almost led to war in 1842, but once that was settled by the Ashburton Treaty

—though not without many heart-burnings in Canada, which saw much territory which ought to have been hers pass to the United States because of the anxiety of the British Government to keep the peace—the country entered upon a period of expansion. Four years later saw the end of the frontier dispute in Oregon, the fixing of the 49th parallel as the line of division between Canada and the Republic, and the addition of Vancouver Island to British Columbia. The famine years in Ireland sent but a relatively small number of emigrants to Canada, badly as the country wanted population; like the Boers, the Irish wished to remove themselves from British jurisdiction, and they found in the anti-monarchical and anti-English United States an atmosphere more to their liking, and climatic and other conditions which gave them easier facilities for winning bread. The Eastern question and the Crimean War obliterated Canadian affairs from the English mind, though the young colonial nation patriotically put herself in evidence by fitting out a regiment of infantry which shared the horrors

and glories of the campaign. She thus demonstrated her gratitude for the liberties she enjoyed, and proved to those who would have favoured her severance that she did not accept the protection of the parent state without endeavouring to make some return. This established a precedent for colonial participation in the wars of England ; and if in Egypt in the 'eighties, and in South Africa in the 'nineties, other Colonies took a hand, the impulse to do so was of Canadian origin. Such an act as sending this regiment to the Crimea would have been impossible in Canada before the Durham regime, at any rate outside Toronto, the centre of the United Empire loyalists—the descendants of those who preferred to be deported under the terms of the Treaty with Washington when the royal cause was lost.

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cluded between Canada and the United States, which determined the commercial relations between the two countries till 1866. The reciprocity Treaty was the crowning achievement of Lord Elgin's administration, and his own share in bringing it about was so great that it deserves to be recorded."

That was the Canada which the Prince of Wales knew as a youth, and was soon to study at first hand. Far away on the other side of the world there were other white communities of which he had to acquire knowledge, and in whose progress he always showed a keen interest, though he was never able to watch it with his own eyes.

In Australia, also, a new nation was arising, of later and, then, of feebler growth than the hardy denizens of the spruce forests of the icy north. The convict settlements became a thing of the past soon after the Prince was born. Exploration had revealed the accessible and utilisable regions of the great continent. The ex-convict population had been leavened by an influx of emigrants of a good social class and some means. Land and colonisation companies, financed in London, were establishing settlements. Meanwhile, a free colony had been established in New Zealand, and the Christian faith carried to the Maori, who accepted it with an avidity which established their mental superiority to the degraded aborigines of the Australian scrub. The Pacific Islands had been brought under French and British influence; the beginnings had everywhere been made in the South for the uprising of new communities. But one thing was wanted—population; and the settlement of population without wrongful dispossession of the natives,

who in New Zealand were thickly on the ground. In the year of the Queen's accession the New Zealand Company, like its progenitor the South Australian Company, was formed, and began the land transactions which led to the Maori wars. In 1840 the Maoris ceded sovereignty to Queen Victoria, though reserving their rights to the tribal lands. Some of these rights were sold and utilised legitimately



Photo: Bourne & Shepherd, Calcutta.

LORD ELGIN.

enough. Some were filched. There were disputes and wars, and there was an economic crisis which threw back the infant communities wherever they were formed.

While the Prince was in his cradle, Leichhardt had crossed from Darling Downs to the northern sea coast of Australia; when he was seven Leichhardt started overland from Darling Downs to the west, as did Kennedy by another

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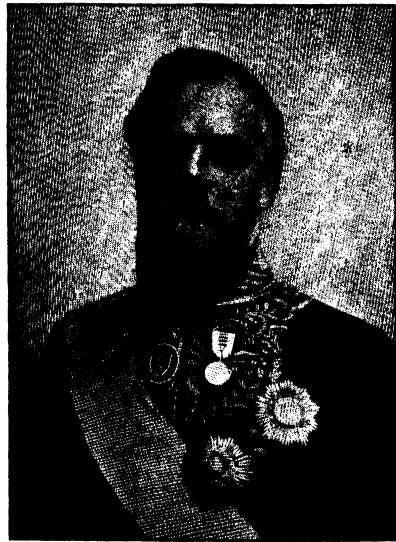


Photo : Bourne & Shepherd, Calcutta.

LORD ELGIN.

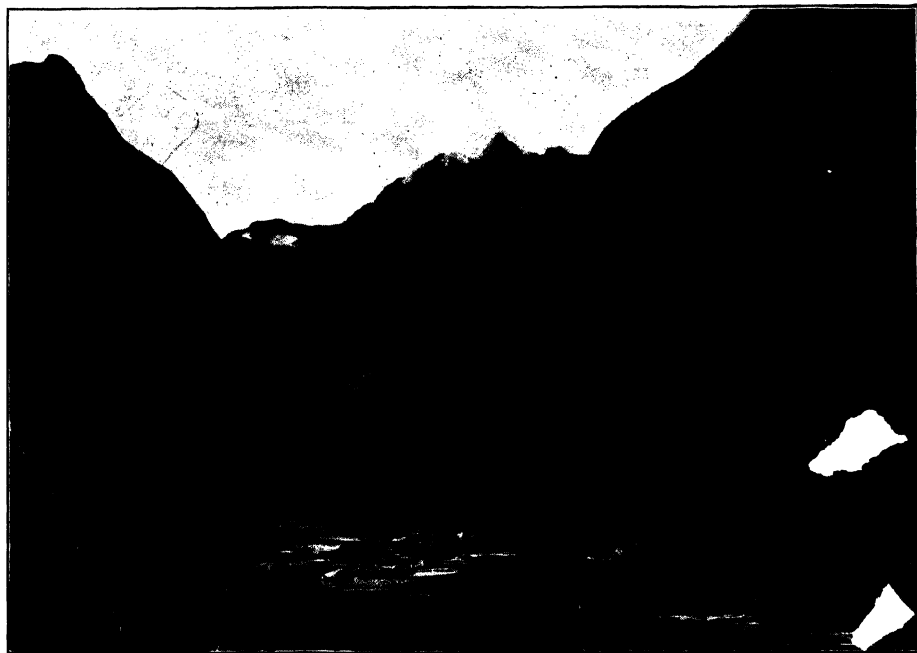
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route—journeys from which neither returned. Meanwhile, the coast settlements had prospered more or less, their struggling life aided by the home Government. Then, in 1851, a Californian miner named Hargreaves found gold near Bathurst, New South Wales. It was the beginning of a

institutions, with power of change, were granted to those colonies which had not already obtained them, and during the boyhood of Edward the principle of colonial self-government established itself in Australasia as in Canada.

There were difficulties, of course—



NEW ZEALAND SCENERY: MILFORD SOUND, ARTHUR RIVER.

Photo: Burton Bros.

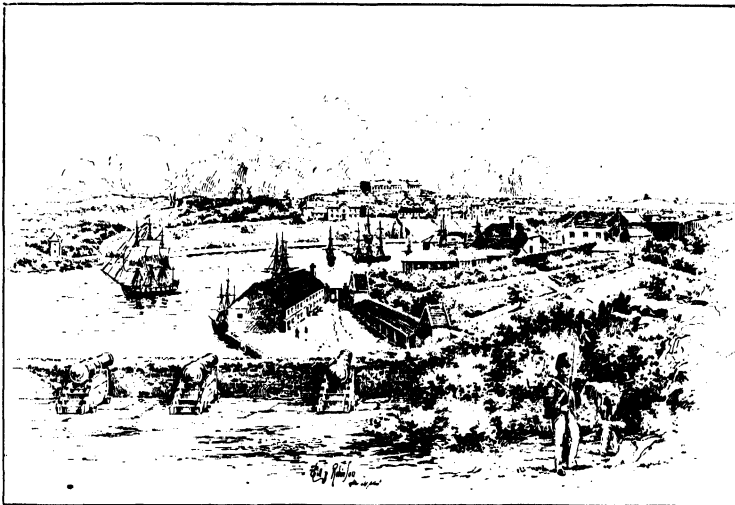
series of such discoveries. The population went up with a bound; the export of gold reached prodigious figures. The prosperity of the continental colonies was assured for a generation. With the access of population came the need for revising the system of government, about which there had been perpetual friction, for the colonists would not be satisfied with less than full self-government. Responsible

political agitations, inter-colonial wrangles, riots in the goldfields; and in New Zealand long and recurrent wars with the Maoris, which lasted on and off until 1870; but the general movement was forward. Thus the Australasian states sprang into being during the transition of the Prince from boyhood to the attainment of his legal majority. Here, also, he was in mental contact with that expansion of

• Empire and granted the free Constitutions which were so remarkable a feature of the story of his years.

Concerning other portions of the Colonial Empire during this period there is little to tell; nothing, in fact, which bears closely on the life of the Prince; though no doubt he heard something of the negro insurrection in Jamaica and the din of controversy about the conduct of

Mutiny. A month after the birth of the Prince the first Afghan war was brought to a humiliating close by the signature of terms under which our army was permitted to evacuate Afghanistan and return unmolested to India, the British Government undertaking that no further force should be sent into the country. The army had been harried through the Khyber Pass and was at Jelalabad, a



SYDNEY IN THE EARLY DAYS.

Governor Eyre; or at least did so as soon as he cared to read Carlyle, whose tumultuous defence of that much abused administrator illuminated West Indian conditions as flashes of lightning illuminate a landscape in the depth of night.

India, however, furnished him with material for knowledge and thought throughout his impressionable years, a series of wars, crowded with dramatic incidents, ending in the climax of the

small force having been left at Kabul under General Elphinstone, with whom was Sir William Macnaghten, the British Resident. A contemporary writer shall narrate what followed:—

“These terms having been agreed to, the chiefs took with them Captain Trevor as a hostage; but nothing was done to carry the agreement into effect, and Macnaghten and Elphinstone remained irresolutely at Kabul. Some of their staff attempted to bribe the Afghans,

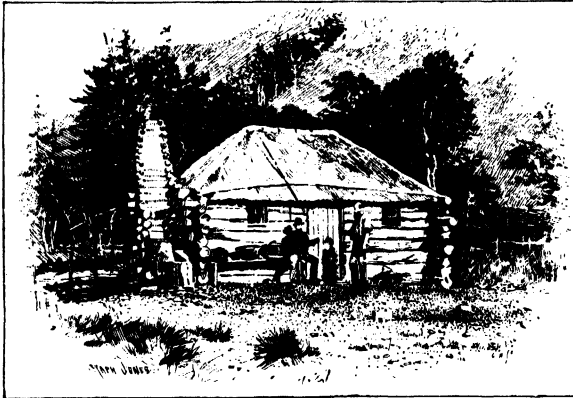
and Akbar Khan thereupon determined to withhold supplies. It soon became evident that the object was to starve out the garrison, and compel them to surrender unconditionally. At length, on the 22nd of December, 1841, they sent two persons into the cantonment, who made a proposal in the name of Akbar Khan, that the Shah should continue king, that Akbar should become his Prime Minister, and that one of the principal chiefs should be delivered up to the British as

three officers were seized from behind and disarmed. Sir W. Macnaghten was last seen on the ground struggling violently with Akbar Khan, consternation and terror depicted on his countenance. 'His look of wondering horror,' says Kaye, 'will never be forgotten by those who saw it, to their dying day.' The other three officers were placed on horses, each behind a Ghilzai chief, who galloped off with them to a fort in the neighbourhood. Captain Trevor fell off his horse, and was

instantly murdered. The others were assailed with knives by the infuriated Afghans, and barely escaped to the fort with their lives. Meanwhile the head of the British Minister was cut off and paraded through the streets, while the bleeding and mangled trunk was exposed to the insults of the populace in the principal bazaar.

Notwithstanding all this treachery and barbarity, General Elphinstone, feeling

his situation desperate, was weak enough to trust the Afghan chiefs, and to enter into a convention with them on the 1st of January, 1842, in the hope of saving the garrison from destruction. The negotiations were carried on by Major Pottinger, the defender of Herat, and it was agreed that the former Treaty should remain in force with the following additional terms: That the British should leave behind all their guns excepting six; that they should immediately give up all their treasures; and that hostages should be exchanged for married men with their



SETTLER'S HUT IN VICTORIA.

a prisoner. This was a mere trap, into which Sir William Macnaghten unfortunately fell with fatal credulity. On the 23rd of December the envoy, attended by Captains Lawrence, Trevor, and M'Kenzie, left the Mission Compound, to hold a conference with Akbar Khan in the plain towards Serah Sung. Crowds of armed Afghans hovering near soon excited suspicions of treachery. Captain Lawrence begged that the armed men might be ordered off; but Akbar Khan exclaimed: 'No, they are all in the secret.' At that instant Sir William and the

wives and families. To this, however, the married men refused to consent, and it was not insisted on.

In pursuance of this convention the garrison retired, and began their fatal march on the 6th of January, 1842. The army consisted of 4,500 fighting men, with 12,000 camp-followers, besides women and children. The snow lay deep upon the ground; they had scarcely commenced their march when they were attacked by the Afghans, the guns were captured, and they were obliged to fight their way, sword in hand, defending the women and children as well as they could. During the whole way through the snow the road was strewn with bodies and stained with blood. The dead and dying were immediately stripped naked by the enemy, and their corpses hacked to pieces with long knives. During all this time the perfidious Akbar Khan sent messages professing his re-

gret at not being able to restrain the Ghilzai tribe; and after they had got through the Pass, he made a proposal, which was accepted, to take the ladies under his protection.

Accordingly, Lady Sale and Lady Macnaghten, with six others, accompanied by



SOME RACIAL TYPES.

- | | |
|------------|---------------------------|
| 1.—Zulu. | 2.—North American Indian. |
| 3.—Indian. | 4.—Australian Aboriginal. |
| 5.—Maori. | |

their husbands, were left under his charge. The British troops then halted for a day, bivouacking on the snow. The cold was so intense that the Sepoys became benumbed and paralysed, in

which state the whole of them were next day attacked and cut to pieces. The Europeans managed to hold together, but when they arrived at Jugduluk, thirty-five miles distant from Kabul, only 300 out of 16,500 persons who left that city remained alive. At this place a halt was ordered, and through the interference of Akbar Khan the miserable remnant were permitted to occupy a ruined enclosure, where, worn out by fatigue and utterly helpless, they lay down to rest in the snow. General Elphinstone was detained a prisoner by Akbar Khan in a small fort, whence he dispatched a note to Brigadier Anketell, advising him to march that night, as there was treachery afoot. The wearied band, aroused from their slumbers, accordingly moved on in the dark; but their departure was noticed, they were attacked in the rear, they broke into disorder, threatened to shoot their officers, separated in small parties, and thus, scattered and confused, they were cut down almost to a man. Of the officers, however, a considerable number escaped on horseback; but they, too, were attacked wherever they appeared, until only one gentleman, Dr. Brydon, survived to tell the dreadful story, reaching Jelalabad on the 13th of January. It afterwards came out, however, that several other officers were detained in captivity."

But the trouble was not over. Jelalabad was invested by an Afghan host, and relieved from Peshawar only after tremendous difficulty. Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, was recalled and replaced by Lord Ellenborough, though in seeking to put an exiled Prince on the throne at Kabul in order to foil Russian designs on Herat he had only obeyed the

command of the Melbourne Ministry. The Pass was reopened, Kabul re-entered, the British prisoners still in Afghan hands were released, and the great bazaar of Kabul destroyed by gunpowder. That was all it was intended to do, but the troops got out of hand and pillaged the city. Vengeance having been satisfied the army returned to India. Sind was added to British India in 1843 by Sir Charles Napier after a brilliant campaign, for which Lord Ellenborough was responsible, and for which it is not easy to discover an equitable cause. Hot upon this achievement came the conquest of Gwalior, and with as little justification.

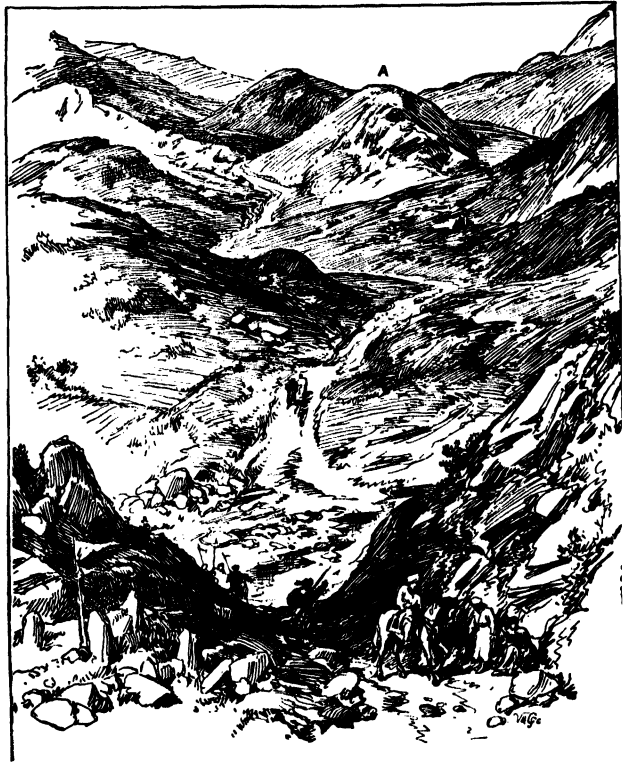
"The career of Lord Ellenborough as Governor-General of India," says the writer already quoted, "was one of the most remarkable in its annals. He went out for the purpose of inaugurating a policy of peace, conciliation, and non-intervention. His course from that day was one of constant aggression and war. The conquests of Sind and Gwalior were planned and prepared for deliberately and in good time; and when the Governments to be subdued were goaded into hostilities, he was ready to pounce upon them with overwhelming force. His friends defended this policy on the ground that, though it was aggressive, it was self-defensive; to guard against a possible but very remote contingency—an invasion of the Sikhs to drive the British out of India. The Governor-General, however, had become entirely too warlike; and since he had smelt powder and tasted blood at Gwalior, the Board of Control, who had already formally censured his Sind policy, became so alarmed at his martial propensities that they determined on his immediate recall, and

sent out Sir Henry Hardinge to rule in his stead."

Worse was to come. Sir Henry found himself unable to avoid war with the Sikh Confederacy in the Punjab. "This warlike race had been governed by Runjeet Singh, a chief of extraordinary ability, energy, and determination. He had but one eye; he was deeply marked with the small-pox; his aspect was repulsive, and his manner rude; yet was he looked up to by this great people with respectful homage, and obeyed with implicit trust. While he lived he maintained an alliance with the British Government; but after his death the Sikhs were divided into two factions—one headed by Gholab Singh, and professing to be favourable to the British; the other by the Ranee, who yielded to the clamours of the unpaid soldiers to be led against the English."

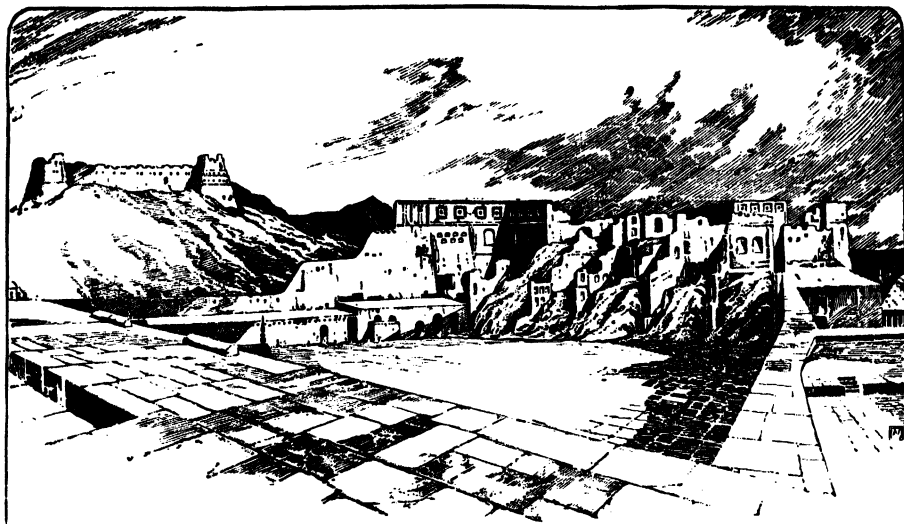
Accordingly, the Sikh army on the night of the 9th of December, 1845, crossed the Sutlej River, and on the 18th fought and lost the battle of Moodkee, but our own losses, especially in officers, were terribly severe. Sir Hugh Gough was in command, and the veteran Sir Henry Hardinge, the hero of many an Indian field, and now Governor-

General, volunteered to serve as second in command. The troops had been reinforced and numbered 19,000. The Sikhs were in far stronger force. There was another Sikh army coming down. Our troops had marched ten miles. To fight after so long a march in the heat of India was hazardous; to delay was to give time for the second Sikh army to arrive. It was decided to engage forthwith, Gough leading the right wing, Hardinge the left. Under a galling Sikh artillery fire several Sepoy regiments on the left wing broke and fled. The Governor-General's attack



THE KHYBER PASS.

(A, Represents the Site of the Last Stand of the Remnant of the British Force.)



THE BRITISH RESIDENCY, KABUL, AFTER THE ATTACK.

therefore failed. Gough's wing fared better, but the night fell with the issue undecided.

"The weary night at length passed," says a contemporary record. "The dull sun of a December day (the 22nd) rose upon the ghastly scenes of that gory battlefield. The soldiers, many of whom were without food from the morning of the previous day, were again marshalled in order of battle. The artillery commenced the work, but with little effect. 'But why waste time and ammunition thus?' said Gough. 'We must try the bayonet once more.' Then was made a tremendous charge for life. At first, part of the line reeled under the storm from the enemy's guns; but still the whole army pressed on with desperate shouts, the two wings closing in upon the village, driving everything before them, and still pressing onward till they captured the whole of the enemy's guns on the works.

The two generals, waving the captured banners, rode in triumph before the victorious army, and were hailed with enthusiastic applause. The whole of the enemy's military stores and camp furniture, with seventy-three guns and seventeen standards, remained in possession of the British. One Sikh army was now defeated; but there was another to come on, 30,000 strong, most of whom were perfectly fresh. The spirit of the Commander-in-Chief seemed now to fail him, and he so despaired of the issue that he confessed in a letter to his friend that for a moment he felt regret as each passing shot left him still on horseback. Most of our cavalry were hardly able to move from the exhaustion of the horses; our ammunition was nearly spent, while the fire from the enemy's guns was rapid. At this critical moment, owing to a misconception of orders, our cavalry and artillery moved off from the flanks, which they protected, taking the

road towards Ferozepore. It was a blunder that seemed ordered by Providence to save our army from annihilation ; for the Sikhs—not knowing our weakness, and conceiving that the design was to take possession of the fords, and prevent their crossing the river—immediately began to retreat. Our infantry pursued ; and such was the consternation and confusion of the enemy that they never stopped running till they got to the other side of the Sutlej. In these terrible battles the British lost, in killed and wounded, 2,415 men, being a sixth of the whole number engaged."

Both sides brought up reinforcements. On the 28th of January, 1846, the battle of Aliwal was fought and the Sikh army beaten ; and on the 8th of February the decisive battle of Sobraon, so named because the Sikh armies were here concentrated and entrenched. The record just quoted gives a graphic account of the conflict :—

"The camps extended along both sides of the river, and were defended by 130 pieces of artillery, of which nearly half were of heavy calibre, and which were all served by excellent gunners. The British troops formed a vast semicircle, each end of which touched the river, the vil-

lage of Sobraon being in the centre, where the enemy were defended by a triple line of works, one within another, flanked by the most formidable redoubts. The battle commenced by the discharge of artillery on both sides, which played with terrific force for three hours. After this the British guns went up at a gallop till they came within 300 yards of the works, where it was intended the assault should be delivered. Halting there, they poured a concentrated fire upon the position for some time. After this the assault was made by the infantry, running. The regiment which led the way was the 10th, supported by the 53rd Queen's and the 43rd and 59th Native Infantry. They were repulsed with dreadful slaughter. The post of honour and of danger was now taken by the Ghoorkas. A desperate struggle with the bayonet ensued ; the Sikhs were overpowered by the brigades of Stacey and Wilkinson ; but, as the fire



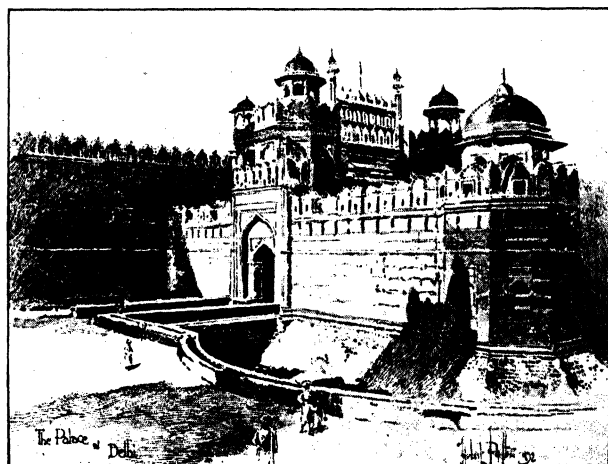
THE KASHMIR GATE, DELHI.

Photo : Bourne & Shepherd.

of the enemy was now concentrated upon this point, the brave assailants were in danger of being overwhelmed and destroyed. The British Commander-in-Chief seeing this, sent forward the brigades of Ashburnham, as well as Smith's division, against the right of the enemy, while his artillery played furiously upon their whole line. The Sikhs fought with no less valour and determination than the British. Not one of their gunners flinched till he was

the batteries, cut down the gunners as they passed. General Gough promptly followed up this advantage by ordering forward the whole three divisions of the centre and the right. It was then that the fighting may be said to have commenced in earnest. The struggle was long, bloody, and relentless. No quarter was given or asked; the Sikhs fighting like men for whom death had no terrors, and for whom death in battle was the happiest

as well as the most glorious exit from life. But they encountered men with hearts as stout and stronger muscle, and they were at length gradually forced back upon the river by the irresistible British bayonet. The bridge at length gave way under the enormous weight, and thousands were precipitated into the water and drowned. But even in the midst of this catastrophe the drowning fanatics would accept no mercy from



THE PALACE, DELHI.

struck down at his post. Into every gap opened by the artillery they rushed with desperate resolution, repelling the assaulting columns of the British. At length the cavalry, which has so often decided the fate of the day in great battles, were instrumental in achieving the victory. The sappers and miners having succeeded in opening a passage through which the horses could enter in single file, the 3rd Queen's Dragoons, under Sir Joseph Thackwell, got inside the works, quickly formed, and galloping along in the rear of

the Feringhees. Our losses amounted to 320 killed and 2,063 wounded. Of the European officers, thirteen were killed and 101 wounded. The loss of the Sikhs in the battle of Sobraon was estimated at from 10,000 to 13,000 men, the greater number being shot down or drowned in the attempt to cross the bridge. They left in the hands of the victors sixty-seven guns, 200 camel swivels, nineteen standards, and a great quantity of ammunition."

A treaty of peace was made. Gough

and Hardinge were raised to the Peerage and lavishly rewarded.

The Treaty was broken by the Sikhs in 1848, and the British Resident, Mr. Vans Agnew, and Lieut. Anderson murdered at Mooltan. An army was sent. There was a new uprising in the Punjab, and in November Lord Gough was again in the field. On the 13th of January, 1849, the battle of Chillianwallah was fought and lost by the British. A regiment of horse—the 14th Light Dragoons—refused to charge, turned, and fled through our Horse Artillery. The Sikh cavalry charged and captured six guns and five colours. Twenty-seven officers and 731 men of Lord Gough's force were left dead on the ground, and sixty-six officers and 1,446 men were wounded.

There were clamours at home for Lord Gough's re-call. The Duke of Wellington thought the situation desperate, and asked Sir Charles Napier, then suffering from mortal disease, to go out. "If you don't go, I must," he said. Napier went. But before he arrived, Gough had won a decisive battle at Goojerat, and the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, most able and valiant of our foes in India, had surrendered at discretion, and ridden into the British camp.

No small curiosity was experienced to see the man who had maintained a defence, obstinate and protracted beyond any

related in the annals of modern war.

"Gorgeously attired in silks and splendid arms, he rode a magnificent Arab steed, with a rich saddle-cloth of scarlet. He but little exceeded the middle size, was powerfully but elegantly formed; his keen, dark, piercing, restless eyes surveyed at a glance everything around. He neither wore the face of defiance nor dejection; but moved along under the



THE MEMORIAL WELL, CAWNPORE.

Photo: Frith & Co., Reigate.

general gaze as one conscious of having bravely done his duty."

With the annexation of the Punjab, that chapter of Indian history closed, and this powerful and warlike race, against whose hostility it would have been impossible for us to hold India during the Mutiny, has lived in amity with the British in India and with loyalty to the British Government.

The story of the Mutiny cannot here be told. To do so would require a volume. But sufficient must be said to give an

outline of the events which were to lead to the extinction of Company rule, the assumption of direct administrative authority by the Crown, the tour of the Prince of Wales through India in the 'seventies, and the adoption by Queen Victoria for herself and her successors of the Imperial diadem and title. The Mutiny burst like an unexpected thunder-clap, though the causes and premonitory signs were multifarious and discerned by many English living in the East. Says the writer of "The Life and Times of Queen Victoria":—

"In 1857 the following conditions were prevailing in India: (1) A popular belief was current in every village that the last year of the British *raj* had come; (2) The native Courts were suspicious that the annexation of Oudh was an indication of the fate that was in store for them; (3) The high-caste natives, whether in the army or in civil life, were suspicious that the Government desired to defile their caste and sap the foundations of their religion. The country was, therefore, in such an inflammable condition that the first spark that fell on it would produce an outbreak. By an extraordinary act of stupidity the Government not only struck this spark, but fanned it into flame.

The Crimean War caused the British Army to substitute the rifle for the old smooth-bore musket popularly called 'Brown Bess.' In 1856 it was determined to serve out Enfield rifles to the Indian Army, and in doing this no heed was paid to Sepoy prejudices. The cartridge of the new weapon could not be rammed home unless it were previously greased. But, then, no Hindoo can touch the fat of ox or cow without loss of

caste, which is worse than loss of life, and no Moslem can touch pigs' fat without moral defilement. Yet no steps were taken to exclude these substances from the grease for the Indian cartridges! A rumour accordingly flew round the bazaars, that in order to attack Hindoo and Moslem alike the two objectionable fats had been *mixed* in the grease. This story was traced to a curious source. One day a low-caste man at Dumdum, near Calcutta, asked a Sepoy to give him a draught of water from his *lotah*. The Sepoy refused, loftily observing that the vessel would be polluted if a low-caste man touched it with his lips. The Lascar replied, with a sneer, that the Sepoy would soon lose his own caste, for the Government were making cartridges greased with defiling fats, which he would have to bite in loading his rifle. The Sepoy, horror-stricken at this tale, told it to his comrades. It flew from mouth to mouth, and soon the Native Army of Bengal lay under the blight of a hideous panic—every man going about his duty haunted by a dread of soul-destroying defilement. The men, half-crazy with fear, met of nights to concert measures for their protection, and at Barrackpore incendiary fires broke out. General Hearsey, who was in command, warned the Government of what was going on, and orders were given that ungreased cartridges should be issued—the men lubricating them with whatever substance they chose to apply. But no sooner had one suspicion been banished from the Sepoy mind than another took its place. A glazed paper was used for the ungreased cartridges, whereupon another rumour flew round to the effect that the glaze was produced by fat. General Hearsey



CAWNPORE IN 1857.
(From a Contemporary Print.)

harangued his men, assuring them on his honour that their suspicions were wrong, and they seemed satisfied; though, as events showed, they were by no means at ease.

A detachment of the 34th was sent from Barrackpore to Berhampore. They carried the tale about the glazed paper with them, and communicated a fresh panic to the 19th Native Infantry at that station. The day after the men of the 34th arrived, the 19th Regiment had blank cartridges served to them, which by some mistake had been made out of two different kinds of paper. The men at once suspected that the new defiling cartridges had been mixed with the old ones, so that their caste might be destroyed, and they refused to take their percussion caps. Colonel Mitchell, instead of reasoning with his Sepoys as Harsey had done, flew into a paroxysm of passion—which amply confirmed their suspicions. Mitchell, in fact, mistook fear for mutiny, and it was in vain that the native officers, who, of course, knew the real state of the case, implored him to keep his temper with his men. That night the 19th mutinied. Mitchell had no European troops, but he closed round the mutineers with two other native regiments—cavalry and artillery—and then, sending for the native officers of the 19th, stormed at them in impotent fury. They assured him that their men were only in a panic, and that if the cavalry and artillery were withdrawn they would return to duty. The cavalry and artillery were withdrawn, and the 19th went back to its quarters loyally enough.

Though Mitchell's indiscretion drove the 19th into revolt, it had unquestionably revolted. Lord Canning, therefore, was

bound to punish it, and he decided that the regiment must be disarmed and disbanded. But he had no British troops to spare for this purpose. He accordingly had to wait from the end of February till the end of March for the arrival of an English regiment from Burmah to disarm the 19th, who were marched down to Barrackpore to be broken up. On the 29th of March, two days before the disbandment of the 19th Native Infantry, Private Mungul Pandey of the 34th, in a fit of drunken fanaticism, attempted to get up a mutiny among his comrades. He shot the horse of the Adjutant, Lieutenant Baugh, who was cut down in trying to seize him. Only one man of the quarter-guard responded to the order to arrest the mutineer, who was finally captured, tried, and hanged on the 22nd of April. Evil communications had passed between the 19th and the 34th, and it was found that, though the Sikhs and Moslems in the regiment were loyal, the Hindoos were mutinous to a man. Yet nothing was done to punish the 34th. The discharged men of the 19th, however, carried the story of their wrongs to their homes in Oudh and Bundelkund, and soon it came to be believed that not only were the cartridges greased, but, in order to produce a general pollution of the natives, which would destroy all caste, that the public wells, and the flour, and ghee (a clarified butter sold in the bazaars) had been defiled by ground bone-dust and the fat of cows and pigs, while the salt had been sprinkled with cows' and hogs' blood."

Thus the Mutiny began. With energy it might have been arrested at the outset. But General Anson, the Commander-in-Chief, was ill at the time, and died. On

the 9th of May 1857, the Sepoys at Meerut, forty miles from Delhi, revolted, murdered their officers and Europeans who could not escape, sparing not the women and children. There were English cavalry within reach who could have been used to cut them down. They were kept inactive. The mutineers, fearing vengeance, escaped to Delhi, from which the revolt spread through the North-West Provinces with the rapidity of a prairie fire in August. Everywhere, from the plains of the Ganges to the passes of the north-west, Europeans were in peril of their lives, and many perished miserably. Fortunately, the principal native princes were steadfast. Southern India was almost untouched by the fires. Central India was relatively free. So was Madras province. Troops were hurried from Calcutta to Delhi, Anson dying on the way; but they were too few to assault the city, the high ramparts and fortified entrances of which swarmed with well-armed rebels with many powerful guns. Meanwhile, at Cawnpore, there was a revolt, and the European troops and residents, including 400 women and children, were compelled to take refuge in a field defended only by mud walls. There they were besieged from the 5th of June to the 27th, when they capitulated to Nana Sahib, on condition of being sent down to Allahabad.

On the 27th of June the survivors—men, women, and children, about 450 in all—marched to the boats which had been prepared for them. As soon as they had embarked Nana Sahib treacherously opened fire on them, and converted an exodus into a massacre. One hundred and twenty-two captives were taken, and imprisoned in a house till the 15th of July, when they were butchered. Next morn-

ing their bodies, some still quivering with life, were thrown into a well. Lucknow also revolted, and there, on the 2nd of July, Sir Henry Lawrence fell. The garrison held out against terrible odds for eighty-seven days, when it was relieved by Sir Henry Havelock, who had taken Cawnpore on the way and avenged the butcheries of the Nana. "The Nana fled," says Mr. Sidney Low, in the last volume of the "Political History of England," "and Havelock's wearied followers tottered into Cawnpore to look down into the well where the still uncovered bodies of the two hundred murdered women and children met their gaze. Some of those who had taken a prominent part in the massacres, the high-caste Brahmins and Mahomedan officers, were forced by Neil under the lash to clean the blood from the walls and floors of the Bibigarh, and then executed." The mutineers held Delhi until mid-September, when, after a five days' fight, in which we lost 1,145 officers and men, the city was taken. Thereafter victory lay with the avenging British forces, and throughout 1858 and the early part of 1859 the rebels were dislodged from their fortresses, and hunted through the country, until the last body of fighting men had surrendered or been destroyed.

Meanwhile, on the 3rd of August 1858, Parliament had passed the India Bill, depriving the East India Company of the government, and on the 1st of November Queen Victoria issued a Proclamation which transferred its territories and powers to the Crown and vested the government in a Viceroy. That Proclamation was an exposition of policy as well as a declaration of fact, for it stated that no extension of territory would be sought, that the rights

of the native princes would be respected, that toleration in religion would be maintained, and that not creed, nor race, nor colour would debar her Indian subjects from suitable employment in the public service. The natives of India received this Proclamation with a delight that was apparently sincere, and professed to regard it as the Magna Charta of their country.

The Prince of Wales was then approaching his seventeenth birthday. To have lived through events such as these was, surely, an education in itself. We have now passed in review the social life of England from his birth to the dawn of manhood; foreign affairs such as would necessarily have been made familiar to him, either by study or contact with

foreign personages at the Court; colonial facts and questions such as reveal the principles of colonial policy; and Indian history to the culminating point of the direct assumption by the Crown of the government of the Indian peoples. We hope we have brought out with clearness the knowledge and ideas with which these events must at this period have furnished his mind—that the reader will have been able to follow in imagination the efforts of the Prince to grasp their import, and his own prospective relationship to them and to the consequences they were likely to have in his lifetime. If we have done that, the labour has been well spent, and the ground is cleared for the less exacting task of accompanying the Prince on his visit to Canada.



Photo: Kapp & Co., Calcutta.

THE RESIDENCY, LUCKNOW, AFTER THE ATTACK.

CHAPTER XI.

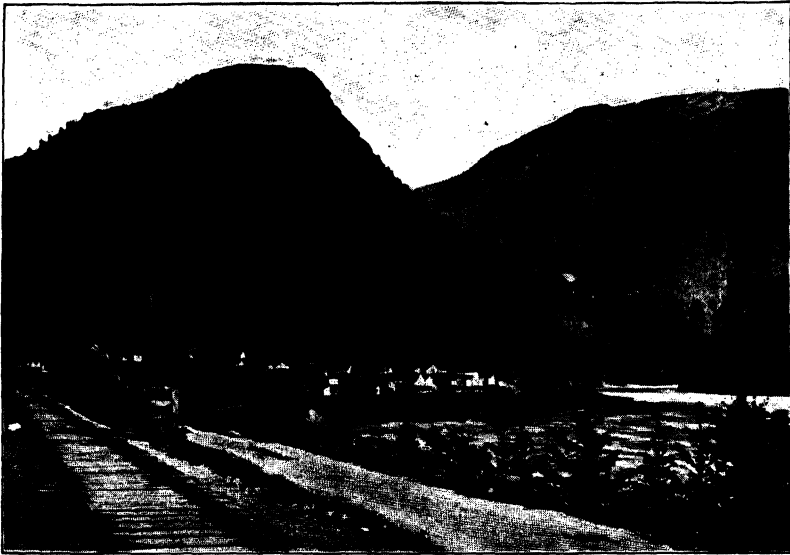
THE TOUR IN CANADA.

The Prince at Eighteen—"A Youth of Uncommon Distinction"—Some Canadian Reminiscences—Loyalty in the Backwoods—Premonitions of Federation—Queen Victoria's Alternative—The Objects of the Trip—Prior Conditions in Canada—The Influence of the Prince Consort—The Prince's Suite—Interest in the United States—Invitation from the President—A Conciliatory Acquiescence—Niceties of Diplomacy—H.M.S. *Hero* leaves Plymouth—Incidents of the Voyage—The Prince as a Comrade—Enthusiastic Reception at St. John's, Newfoundland—Christening "*Cabot*"—Festivities at Halifax—The Dangers of the St. Lawrence—The *Hero* Runs on a Rock—Geological Philosophics—Arrival at Quebec.

THE Prince of Wales was in his nineteenth year when, in 1860, he made his three months' tour in Canada and the United States; and a very handsome and attractive looking stripling he was by the accounts of those who knew him at this period of his life. His manners, too, had a distinctive charm; for they were those of an affable and kindly person, destitute of pride and self-importance. Yet were they tinged with a gravity and dignity, arising less from a self-consciousness of exalted station than from a certain youthful reserve and shyness. A head and bust portrait of him by L. Richmond in 1859 presents an oval face, framed in luxuriant brown hair which partly covers a high and unruffled brow and falls in thick clusters over the ears. It is a beardless face of adolescence, the soft outlines of a delicately modelled chin, the cupid bow lines of the lips which sent Queen Victoria into ecstasies of maternal admiration when he was a child, the arched eyebrows and the full open soft blue eyes, giving to the countenance an almost feminine grace and delicacy of expression. The Prince had by now attained his full height,

and though he was not so tall as his father, who stood well above the middle stature, in build he was finely proportioned, slender and supple and of easy carriage and as yet without the fullness of outline which begins to appear in rather later pictures. There was something, too, about the poise of the head which gave him a singular attractiveness and would have made him a noticeable figure had he been born in and restricted by circumstances to a humble station of life. Altogether he was a youth of uncommon distinction of appearance, who charmed everyone by an unconscious and effortless art to please his fellows. Many an aged lady now living can recall with a smile the thrill of interest they had themselves experienced when first they saw him. "Oh! isn't he handsome!" was the instinctive utterance of the young womanhood of England in the late 'fifties, and certainly of the womanhood of all ages in Canada in the summer of 1860. The present writer can recall a conversation during a journey in Canada, with an old lady living with a farmer son in a forest clearing in the wilds of Northern Ontario—a talkative old lady who had been born and bred near Montreal and whose

CANADIAN SCENERY



LAKE AND MOUNTAIN IN THE CANADIAN WEST.



KICKING HORSE PASS, BRITISH COLUMBIA.

participate in them—for the annexation of the country. The flow of English immigration which was to leaven Canada with troops of families who shared the ardour for Queen Victoria and her children, which spread through the nation as the years of her reign lengthened, had not then begun. What are now great and thriving cities were then small and struggling towns, exclusively local and provincial in modes and tone of life; indeed, in the West, where great towns are growing swiftly, the very sites were primeval grasslands, white-patched here and there with the skull of the buffalo and knowing no sound but the report of the hunter's rifle. To the Canadian born who did not chance to be within the exclusive set of the United Empire Loyalist

families the Crown had become an abstraction, represented by officials and a dominant political clique inclined to regard the small farmer and trader with disdain as a possible rebel and ever as plastic material for the Annexationists to work upon. To numberless Canadians of the poorer classes the abstraction was changed into a vivid reality by the Prince's tour and an impetus was given to the Canadian mind which was to bring the young nation—for such the

provinces became on the accomplishment of Federation seven years later—into ever closer accord with the Sovereign and the Mother Country.

The Canadians, on the principle of nothing venture nothing have, had originally asked the Queen herself to visit the Colony—a bold request and also a brilliant essay in political imagination,

for no British Sovereign had set foot on any overseas possession since acquisition commenced, nor had the Crown up to that time deemed it advisable that any Heir Apparent should make so novel a journey. It seems never to have entered the mind of anyone in or about the Court or in politics, so limited was the vision of statesmen to the affairs of the European system, that it would



KING EDWARD VII. IN 1860.

be a sagacious and politic thing for rulers or rulers-to-be to see for themselves the outer Dominions of the Crown. The Canadian suggestion came with the force of a surprise; but at Windsor it came to minds receptive and alert, which saw at once its political value and responded instinctively to the good feeling of which it was the expression. It was, however, impossible for the Queen herself to go. Apart from domestic reasons and the claims of her numerous



THE PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, OTTAWA.

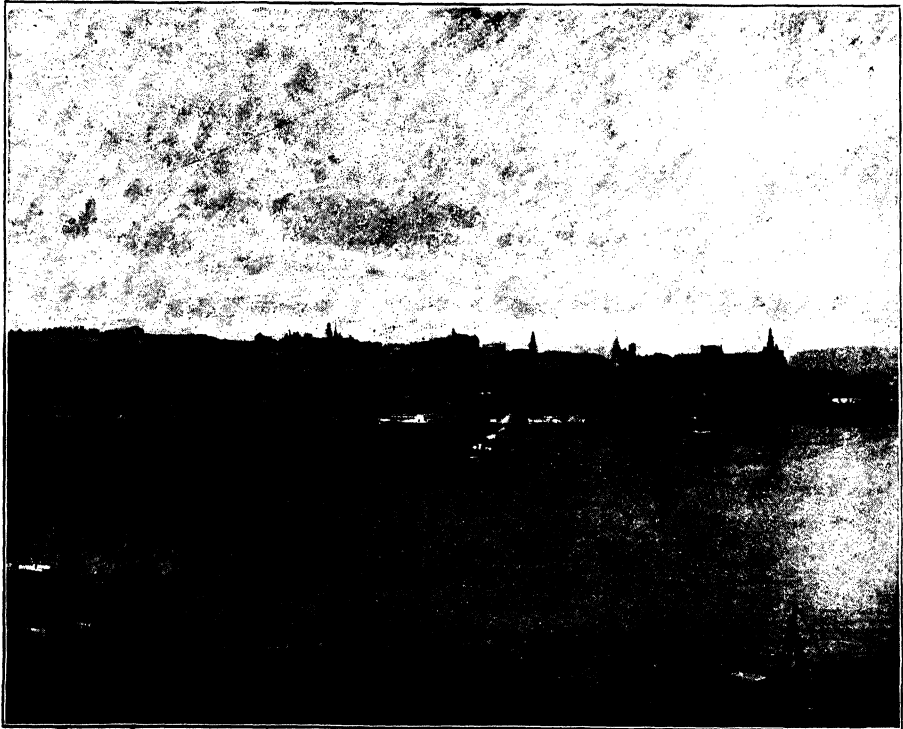
(From an Old Picture.)

young family she could not be away from her Kingdom when there was a great war on hand, with infinite diplomatic complications and startling possibilities. Nor could the Prince Consort have gone in her stead, not only because his masculine brain was necessary to her as a steadying influence in her relations with other Powers and with her Ministers, some of whom were a source of incessant trouble to her, but also because he would have been no adequate substitute, especially as he was at that time sorely misunderstood by the English public and subject to daily gibes from the Press. In these circumstances the invitation had to be declined. Nothing daunted, Canada asked that one of her sons—the second, Alfred, being now in the Navy as a midshipman cadet—should be made Governor-General

of Canada. This also was a daring suggestion, though not quite new, for a young nobleman who was an illegitimate son of William IV. had sought to get himself made Governor of Australia and had been refused that appointment, his father laying down the principle that it was inadvisable that members of the Royal family should serve other than in the Army or the Navy. On the whole it was a sound principle, for whereas a Governor-General who blunders can be recalled without impairment of the personal dignity of the Sovereign if his appointment has been made on the advice or with the consent of Ministers, as is now invariably the case, a Royal Governor who erred could not be dismissed without injury to the credit of the Crown. Moreover, such a Governor could unjustly be made the

• butt of attacks against the Monarchy. The quite modern principle of the personal separateness of the Sovereign from administrative responsibility would, it is obvious, be endangered and its protective value to the Crown itself correspondingly weakened, if a son or brother exercised governing functions. So the second Canadian suggestion met with no favour. Moreover, the Prince was but a youth, and to have made him Governor-General in the rough and tumble of the formative stage of Canadian life would have been to try him too highly. The Queen, however, saw a way to compromise and placated the importunate Colonists—a word which

Canadians have outgrown and intensely dislike, because to them it savours of dependence upon and inferiority to the Mother Country—with a pledge that when he was a little older the Prince of Wales should make their acquaintance on her behalf. Canada had then but one railway, the trunk line that had been begun in 1852, and a suitable occasion for the visit was thought to be the opening of the railway bridge across the St. Lawrence river into Montreal—a triumph of engineering of which Canada was and is justly proud. Many of our readers must have crossed it, and all who have done that will have in their minds an ineffaceable



QUEBEC FROM THE ST. LAWRENCE.

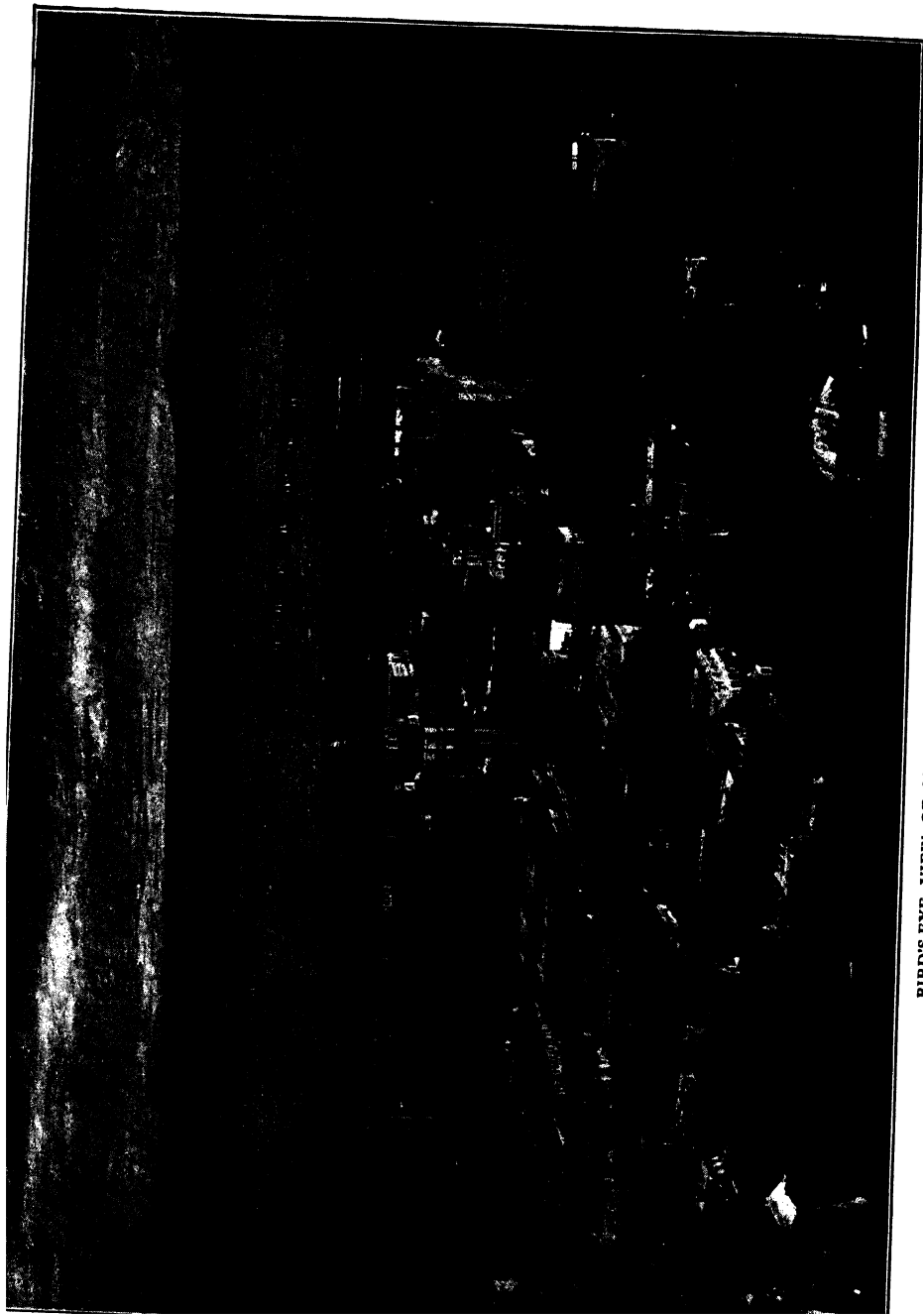
Photo: J. E. Livernois, Quebec.

picture of the noble river and the historic and beautiful city. In addition Canada had been much vexed about the choice of a site for a capital and as Toronto would have been up in arms had Montreal been chosen and Montreal if Toronto, and unappeasable rivalries might have had awkward political consequences, an acceptable site for the seat of Government and the new Parliament Houses had to be found. It was found at a little lumber-town at the confluence of the Ottawa River with the Rideau, on a cluster of splendid bluffs which command one of the finest valley panoramas—if not the finest—in the Western world. Here on the highest of the bluffs Canada had determined to erect as fine a building as the genius of her architects could contrive and the growing wealth of the country could pay for; and it was thought fitting that the Prince of Wales should be asked to lay the foundation stone. These, then, were the formal objects of the tour.

The Prince was not, however, suffered to go alone with a suite. He was put in charge of the Duke of Newcastle, a famous Minister in his day and a man in whom the Queen and the Prince Consort had implicit confidence. Colonel—now General—Bruce and Major Teesdale were also of the party. The Duke was then in office as Colonial Secretary—a comparatively new office, for the Colonies had been tacked on to the War Department and mismanaged from there until the block of business made separation a necessity. The selection, apart from his years and experience and his high social position, had therefore a special appropriateness. It also established a precedent—namely that the Minister responsible for the Colonies should endeavour to learn some-

thing about them, even if the acquisition* of that knowledge meant making a long sea voyage and mingling with what were then regarded as a rather fractious class of subjects of the Crown. Among his other distinctions as a servant of the State the Duke of Newcastle was to add that of setting foot on Colonial soil. The practice thus inaugurated was an admirable one, and perhaps on that account was not generally followed, though in our own time Colonial Ministers and Under Secretaries have had first-hand Colonial experience. Mr. Chamberlain, for example, looked into the after-problems of the South-African war by going himself through the conquered Republics, at no small risk, too, of a stray shot from an unconfiscated Boer rifle, for feeling against him was bitter and intense, and defeat maddens some men; Mr. Winston Churchill made a personal study of conditions in the East and Central African Protectorates while he was Under Secretary; and his successor in that office, Colonel Seeley, fought in South Africa and has other Colonial experience. That, however, is an aside. The Duke of Newcastle was the first Colonial Minister to see a Colony. Let it be added that he was a man of distinguished presence and manners, likely to impress the Canadians with a sense of the dignity and worth of the English nobility. The Duke must have been well known to the Canadians by repute, for there was much about him in the Press of that day. He figures in countless memoirs and books of reminiscence. Of the Duke's father Henry Reeve tells a singular story, which the memoirist links with the illness of the Prince of Wales:—

“Dined at Lord Derby's. Sat next Lady Clanricarde, who, *à propos* of Sir



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF MONTREAL SHOWING THE TUBULAR BRIDGE.

Photo: Notman, Montreal.

H. Holland's 'Past Life,' talked about her father and his last illness. She said that in truth Holland saw Canning very little at Chiswick, and that it was Sir Matthew Tierney who really attended him ; and then she told me the following story of Tierney :—News came from Clumber

the second he doubted it. At the third he cried out, 'Bring me up a bucket of brandy !' They tore the clothes off the body and swathed it in a sheet imbibed with brandy, and then resorted to friction with brandy. In rather more than an hour symptoms of life began to manifest themselves, and in two hours the Duke was able to swallow. He recovered, and lived twenty-five years afterwards. Certainly this triumph over death beats even Dr. Gull's nursing of the Prince of Wales. It is the myth of Hercules and Alcestis."

The Prince Consort took a keen and even laborious interest in the projected tour, for he set to work to see that the Prince's mind was furnished with the necessary knowledge of the history of North America and the growth of Canadian institutions—a task which has been discharged for the reader in a previous chapter ; and he drew up elaborate memoranda as to the things which he deemed it right should be said by the Prince in reply to loyal addresses in Canada. The Prince Consort's hand was in every-

thing ; his brain sprang to action whenever a question of public policy had to be touched by the Queen ; and he took steps that no false note should be sounded across the Atlantic. It was no doubt a wise foresight, for, as we have suggested, the Canadian mind was a sensitive thing and so much disregard had been paid to its workings by earlier Colonial Ministers and represen-



Photo: Mayall & Co., Ltd.
THE PRINCE CONSORT.

tatives of the Crown in Canada that tact and caution were necessary. What with paternal instruction and paternal memoranda and the restraining guidance of the Duke of Newcastle, a man nearly thrice his age, very little initiative was left to the Prince. Moreover, there was a further reason for a tactful caution. On it becoming known that the Prince would visit North America, Mr. Buchanan, the then President of the United States, who had been Minister in London and for political as well as personal reasons had been treated by the Queen with special consideration as a guest at Windsor, wrote to the Queen suggesting that the tour be extended to Washington. He had met the Prince of Wales and had been charmed with him; and he had been still more charmed with the beauty and intelligence of the Princess Royal, then in the first flush of happiness at her engagement with Frederick William, the Crown Prince of Prussia. Mr. Buchanan, in fact, had been admitted to the intimacy of the Court, and his invitation breathed a cordiality on the part of the people over whom he presided which it might not otherwise have had. Furthermore, the Court had been most anxious to conciliate the American nation and to end the bickerings which had recurred so frequently since the short war of 1812—an anxiety which showed itself in a patience under provocation and a willingness to make concessions which were far from

agreeable to others than the fire-eaters of Canada. The invitation, therefore, was very gladly accepted, the Queen writing Mr. Buchanan a very cordial official letter informing him that the Prince would return home through the United States, and that it would give him much pleasure



A GLIMPSE OF NIAGARA FROM THE CANADIAN SIDE.

to testify in person to the President at Washington the kindly feelings which the nation entertained towards the Republic. But it was intimated to the President that in leaving British soil the Prince would drop all State and travel simply as Baron Renfrew—a doubtful concession to anti-monarchical feeling across the border, but one which ingenuous writers have explained in the theory that it would have been impolitic for the Heir

Apparent to appear in that quality in a country which had successfully revolted from the Sovereignty little more than half a century before. It must have been a little difficult for the American mind, acute as it is, to appreciate the distinction between "Baron Renfrew" tendering in person to the President the good-will of the British people and the Prince of Wales doing so; but about these niceties of style the Americans were careless; it was the Prince of Wales they wanted to see, and the Prince of Wales their visitor was, whatever the title his parents wished him to use and whatever the reasons at the back of their minds.

How should the Prince cross the Atlantic? A Cunard liner, the Royal yacht, even the *Great Eastern* were thought of, discussed, and rejected. Finally the *Hero*, a screw line of battle ship, was selected. She was commanded by Captain G. H. Seymour, a name very well known at Court, for his sister was

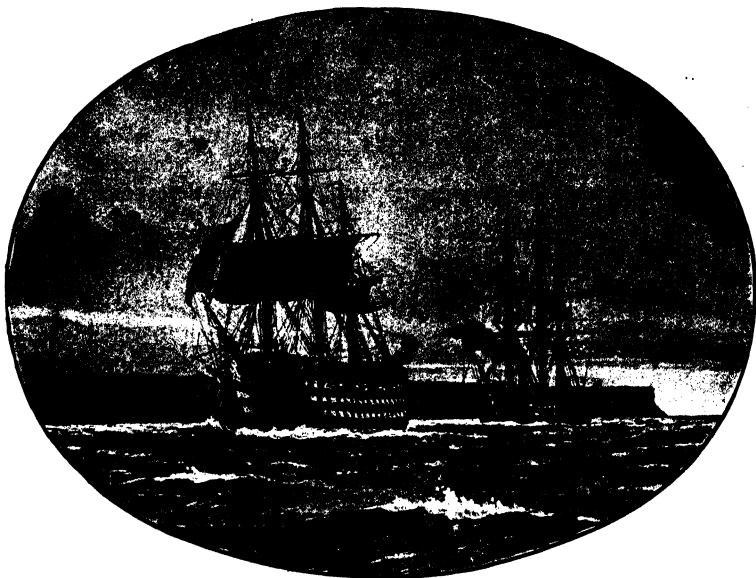
about to be married to Prince Victor of Hohenlohe, a nephew of the Queen.

The *Hero* was in the Hamoaze at Plymouth when, on the 9th of June, the *Victoria* and *Albert* put out with the Royal passenger aboard in company with his father. The yards were manned, a Royal salute was given—a still more picturesque incident in those days than now—and to the strains of the ship's band the party stepped on to the quarter-deck. The Prince was followed by the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies; the Earl of St. Germans, Lord Steward; the Hon. Robert Bruce, the Prince's Governor; Dr. Acland; Major Teesdale, R.A., V.C., and Captain Grey, of the Grenadier Guards, equerries to the Prince. They were all to accompany him. An inspection was made of the Prince's quarters, and subsequently each officer of the ship was presented by name to Their Royal Highnesses.

The entourage of a Prince is always interesting, and the chief personages



THE HAMOAZE, PLYMOUTH.

THE *HERO* RUNNING DOWN CHANNEL IN THE WAKE OF THE *BRITANNIA*.

among those who were to accompany the future King Edward VII. on his first overseas visit may be profitably described. The Duke of Newcastle was a man slightly above middle height, with a cold blue eye and light reddish hair and beard, which last in those days was unusual. He was a member of the Cabinet, and gave one the impression of a man of extreme hauteur, which, however, was not habitual. The Lord Steward, the Earl of St. Germans, was a very aristocratic-looking and really charming old gentleman of about seventy. As has been said of him, "it was a plucky thing for him to take a voyage across the Atlantic at his time of life; but he was a courtier of the first water, and the Queen's wish for him to accompany her Royal son was to him above all personal discomfort." The Dr. Acland referred to was the well-known Regius Professor of Medicine at

Oxford, who died in 1900, when Sir H. W. Acland.

Of the Prince's governor reference has been made in an earlier chapter. He had a trim, upright figure, clear-cut features, a kindly twinkle in his eyes, and was a man of quiet tact.

There was much debate among the middies as to the Prince's probable demeanour, but he had not been afloat a day before he put everyone at once at their ease by his charming manner and kindly smile.

The *Hero* met with shockingly bad weather in the early days of the voyage, but, notwithstanding the buffeting of waves, steady progress was made. Newfoundland was sighted thirteen days out of Plymouth, and the State barge, with the Prince of Wales, in the uniform of a Colonel in the British Army, his companions

and suite on board, was rowed ashore amid the booming of the guns of the *Hero* and of her escort, the *Ariadne*. "It was the first time we had seen him in uniform," said one of his suite, "and everyone thought it became him most admirably. He looked the Prince to perfection. The little town

would have danced till dawn had not the Duke of Newcastle been there. Certainly he danced his way into the hearts of the women of Newfoundland, who went into raptures about his looks, his high spirits, his step, and his uniform. The middies had a glorious time—especially after the



Photo: R. P. Holloway, St. John's.

ENTRANCE TO ST. JOHN'S HARBOUR, NEWFOUNDLAND.

of St. John's gave the Prince a most enthusiastic reception, and all Newfoundland came to see him land and attend the Governor's ball. The Prince danced with the Governor's wife, Lady Bannerman; he danced with the wives of the officials, high and low; he danced with the wives and daughters of the fisher folk; he danced from nine till midnight, and he

Prince and the Duke had gone. Champagne flowed as it had never flowed before in St. John's, and the precocious midshipman made love to the ladies with all the impetuous audacity of sailors ashore.

On the 26th the *Hero* left, the Prince taking with him a pure-bred, coal-black Newfoundland dog. What name should it have? Officers and suite ransacked

• their brains, but none would serve. "Perhaps your Royal Highness would suggest a name yourself," said the Commodore. "Certainly," was the reply. "Call him Cabot!"—the name of the discoverer of the island, though it is not quite indisputable that Sebastian Cabot

at St. John's. There were warships in the harbour and regiments in the garrison, and the Micmac Indians of the bay made a procession of canoes in the harbour. There were balls and hunting parties and such junketings as youth delights in—a six days' social whirl for Halifax and



Photo: W. Notman, Montreal.
SCENE ON A HORSE RANCH IN THE CANADIAN NORTH WEST.

was the first to sight the island. But interesting as that controversy is, the dog may exclude it. "Cabot" survived the efforts of the middies to kill with kindness and "salt horse," and at the close of the tour was installed in the kennels at Windsor, to the admiration of the doggy world. He won many prizes, and had many descendants.

At Halifax the welcome was more imposing, but not more enthusiastic, than

everyone who could reach the town. A few days were spent in the interior, and a few more at Prince Edward Island. The Prince was learning something of the wild beauty of the unpeopled tracts of Empire. Here also he learned something of that intense devotion to the Crown felt in those parts of Canada settled by the expatriated American colonists, who, notwithstanding the severity with which their loyalty had been tried by the Ministers of

George III., refused to live under the Stars and Stripes. The *Hero* thereafter cut across the St. Lawrence for the Saguenay river, up which a trip was to be made in order that the Prince might see some of the glories of the scenery of that almost primeval region. But a mishap befell the vessel—as mishaps all too frequently do in the noble but treacherous St. Law-

these waters. The pilot of the *Hero* was the man who knew the river best at this part of its course; the ship was moving dead slow; the best leadsmen aboard were in the chains; but skill and caution were not to avail against the subtleties of that rocky river-bed, and though the cries of the leadsmen indicated a depth of water sufficient for a modern *Dread-*



Photo: The Notman Studio, Halifax.

BRITISH MEN-OF-WAR IN HALIFAX HARBOUR.

rence, where a craft, great or small, may be in deep water one moment and aground the next. No pilot can learn perfectly its channels and shoals, or master its dangerous caprices; and though the weather be as fair as could be desired, no captain surrenders to the pilot either on going out of the river or coming in without an apprehension that within the next few hours his ship may be added to the long list of those that have met disaster in

nought, there was a shock, a grating, tearing sound from below, and lo! the *Hero* found herself impinging on the sharp jutting rock, and heeling over "to a dangerous degree." Fortunately she made no water; the slow rate at which she had been moving had minimised the injury sustained, for nothing worse had happened than the tearing off of part of the keel; had she been moving faster, and had the tide been running out, a

• shipwreck would probably have been added to the Prince's experiences in the St. Lawrence. Barring in the lower deck ports, Captain Seymour waited until the tide had risen further, and then gave the order of full speed astern; whereupon the *Hero* parted company with the dangerous obstruction without further injury. A gunboat was to take the Royal visitors up the Saguenay, and the *Hero* party were here joined by the Governor-General, Sir Edmund Head, who, with the Canadian Ministers, had come down in a steamer from Quebec to give the Prince an official welcome. There was a dinner that night at which the Prince made the acquaintance of these gentlemen, and the next morning the little gunboat steamed through the towering walls of rock between which the Saguenay races into the St. Lawrence. The scenery in the lower portion of this splendid tributary of the mighty St. Lawrence is among the most magnificent in Canada—as grand as that of the majestic streams which sweep round the bases of the mountains in the west and find their way into the Pacific. In some distant æon it must have been the centre of a tremendous seismic cataclysm, as for fifty miles and more the river runs through a tremendous, awe-inspiring chasm of rock with precipitous hills of rock massed above the cleft on either side. The gloomy grandeur of the scene is scarcely relieved by vegetation; neither trees nor animal life can find subsistence on gneiss and syenite. The breadth varies from half a mile to two and a half, with the irregularity of the mighty fissure, and the depth of water is immense; the pools the home of the white whale, the search for which brought the Basque and Breton mariners from Newfoundland into this

part of Canada early in the seventeenth century. One day only was spent in this stupendous scene, and by the afternoon of the 18th of August the *Hero* anchored below the towering City of Quebec, within



THE GREAT FRASER CAÑON, BRITISH COLUMBIA.

By permission of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

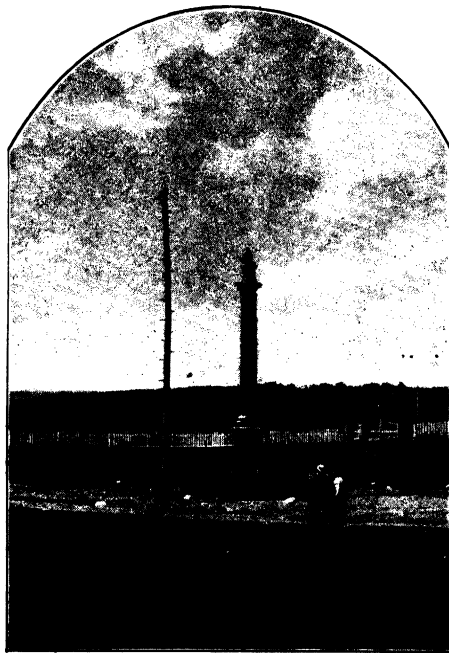
sight of the cove where Wolfe landed his men in 1759, and the plain whereon he and Montcalm fell and French mastery in North America was brought to an end. A special artist, Mr. G. H. Andrews, was attached to the staff during the tour, and his drawings, published later, have a striking quality of fidelity and aptness in catch-

ing not only the scenery but the dresses and expressions of the crowds who ever followed the Prince. Anyone who knows the Canada of to-day will find in these drawings the Canada of yesterday, and will be impressed by a sense of contrast. The crowds suggested by Mr. Andrews' pencil—the fashionable women of the official class in their huge crinolines and Victorian bonnets—were small compared with what Canada would pour forth to greet an Heir Apparent now. The scene on the St. Lawrence below Quebec, with the fleet of little paddle-boats and the sailing ships in the background tells eloquently of the

life of the 'sixties, of the contrast between then and now. Who that is familiar with battleships and cruisers of 1910 would recognise in the *Hero* a ship of the line of battle—and a crack ship, too—representing the highest fight-

ing efficiency of her class? The lines of her hull, the masts and yards which enabled her to carry full sail and be independent of steam, recall the era of transition from sail to

steam in the navy—the dogged resistance to boilers and engines which was offered by the older school of Admiralty experts and naval officers and men. One remembers with a smile that not many years before the *Hero* crossed the Atlantic under steam, Queen Victoria herself was penning an ecstatic letter on the invincibility of the "wooden walls of Old England," thinking and writing of the fleet she then



WOLFE'S MONUMENT, QUEBEC.

saw as a type that would endure, unconscious of the fleets of steam-driven vessels which were to come into being while she was still in middle life. But this is a digression, though not, we hope, superfluous.

CHAPTER XII

IN THE CITIES OF CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

Quebec's Magnificent Welcome—A Note of Later History—On the Heights of Abraham—American Newspaper Enterprise—Sir Wilfrid Laurier in Early Life—Portends of Greatness—Carving His Way to Fame—His Later Influence—Edward at Montreal—The Ceremony at the Victoria Bridge—Foundation-stone Laying at Ottawa—Then and Now—A Queen's Choice—Some Reflections By the Way—Inside the Parliament Buildings—The Prince on the Prairie—The Duke of Newcastle Snubbed—The Wonders of Niagara—A Disaster on Lake Michigan—The Orange Party in Toronto—The Prince Enters the United States—Entertained by President Buchanan at White House—Visit to Washington's Tomb—A Flying Visit to the South—Arrival at New York—Five Days' Festivities—Boston, Bunker's Hill, and Harvard—Homeward Bound *via* Portland, Maine—The *Hero* Weathers the Storm—Across the Atlantic in Twenty-six Days—Home Again.

THE reception of the Prince in Quebec was wildly enthusiastic. The *Hero* had passed to her anchorage through long lines of paddle steamers, their high deck-houses crowded with Canadians, and through swarms of small boats; and without mishap to any of the attendant craft. Is not the Canadian famous throughout the world for his skill as a boatman?—the French-Canadian, at any rate, for the man of the prairie may never see a boat from birth to death. To the dwellers on the banks of the St. Lawrence and its tributaries—and at Quebec, it need scarcely be said, the river St. Charles finds its outlet—the river is the one highway; the boat a second home. The aquatic instinct of the *voyageurs* who revealed the interior of the great north land to the French explorers is indestructible, their hereditary skill unailing. We can imagine the scene—the lines of moving and then stationary craft, great and small crowded from stem to stern with that disregard of risks—that spirit of “let her rip!”—which is so characteristic of the Canadian; the booming of the guns on the

frowning ramparts; the ascending clouds of smoke; the ringing of the bells in the towers and steeples of the many churches in the upper and lower town—what a toilsome ascent it is over the granite cobbles!—the shouting, the cheering, the well nigh hysterical excitement. For, be it remembered, this was a French population which was greeting the Prince; not a population of Republican France, but one whose forbears had come there in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when France was monarchical—aristocratic forbears, too, for some of the best blood in France went forth to found the new empire. Significant, also, was the demonstration from yet another point of view. Though it was a demonstration of welcome to a future Sovereign of an alien race, it was also a demonstration of national feeling, of pride in the special privileges which had been won by the valour of French arms, though the fortunes of war had gone against the French—of gratitude for the magnanimity of the victors, the wisdom of the British Government in not having sought to break down the French population, but to make their

life under the British Crown one which a valiant and intensely Catholic population could live without loss of honour and self-respect. It was a demonstration of allies, also. Had not French and English blood flowed in a crimson stream in the Crimea? Were not the Courts of England and of France then in an amity history had never known? Whatever racial and political tendencies there may have been

which do not accord with these suggestions; whatever there was in the life of Canada which prevented French and English, Catholic and Protestant, the inheritors of the old seigneurial system and the new immigrants from coalescing—all these were thrust into the background. The welcome was an outburst of enthusiasm as sincere as it was spontaneous; and it suggested a diffusion and reality of loyal

sentiment among the population of the Province which had not been suspected. "The crowds," writes one chronicler, "cheered His Royal Highness to the echo whenever he made his appearance on deck. He bowed his acknowledgments, only to be greeted by more cheers and frantic waving of pocket-handkerchiefs." The landing was made in the afternoon, and the crowds on shore and in the city were not less exuberant than those on the river.

Recent events not infrequently give vivid interpretation of earlier incidents. When his present Majesty, then Duke of York, was at Quebec with the Duchess of York in 1901, the address presented to him by the Corporation was strongly reminiscent of his illustrious father's visit, as is here being related. The address, which was delivered in French on that occasion, included the expression of the following sentiments:—

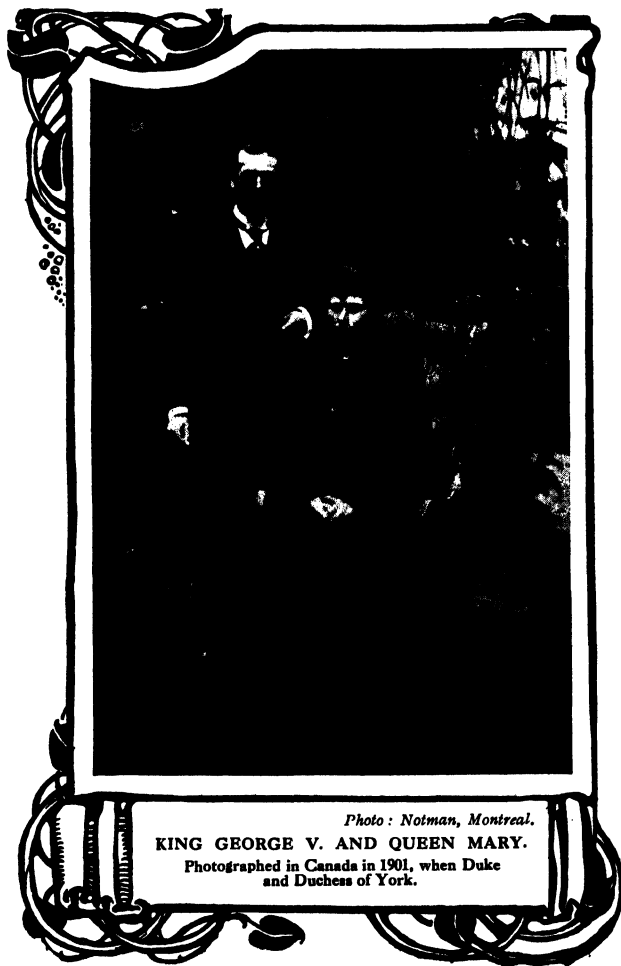
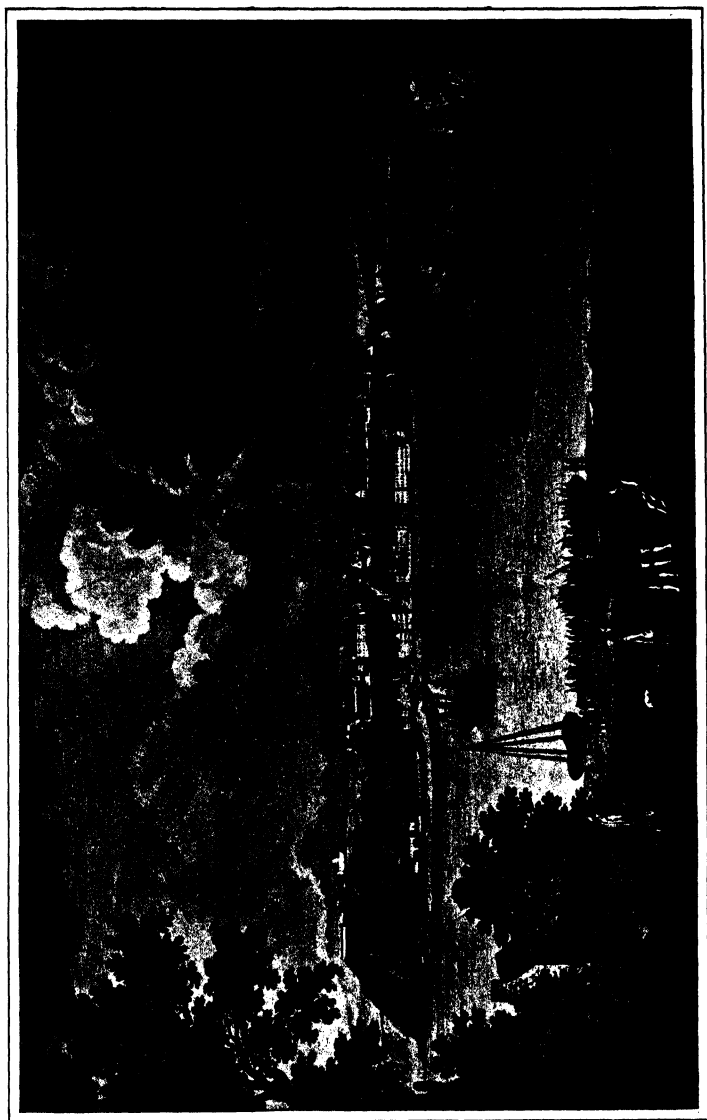


Photo: Notman, Montreal.
KING GEORGE V. AND QUEEN MARY.
 Photographed in Canada in 1901, when Duke
 and Duchess of York.



QUEBEC IN 1761.
From a drawing by R. Short.



GENERAL WOLFE.

"Comme en 1860, c'est aux habitants de Québec que revient l'honneur d'être les premiers à saluer sur le sol canadien l'héritier présomptif de la Couronne, à offrir dans sa personne, à Notre Très Gracieux et Bien Aimé Souverain, l'hommage de notre respect et le tribut de notre oyaute à l'Empire.

"Vous voyez réunie autour de votre Altesse Royale une population en majorité française d'origine et différant par la langue et la foi religieuse des habitants des autres provinces. Mais nous vivons en paix, liés ensemble par le pacte sacré de la Confédération et nous glorifions d'offrir au monde le spectacle d'un peuple libre, uni, content de son sort, fidèle et loyal dans son allégeance à l'Empire, au souverain, à la constitution généreuse qui nous donne une large mesure de liberté et la garantie la plus certaine de notre grandeur future.

"Au nombre des réminiscences historiques qui entourent comme d'une auréole le blason du vieux Québec, nous chérissons particulièrement celles qui se rattachent au passage dans notre cité des membres de la Famille Royale.

"Nous aimons à redire que plus d'une fois Québec a été le lieu de résidence préféré de ces illustres visiteurs que des liens étroits unissaient à la Reine vénérable dont la mémoire bénie n'est nulle part ailleurs plus vivante que dans cette

antique cité de Champlain, immortalisée par les luttes de géants soutenues sous ses murs par de puissantes rivales, et empourprée du sang de héros tels que Wolfe et Montcalm.

"Il nous semble vous revoir tel que vous nous êtes apparu ici, dans vos visites antérieures, lorsque simple officier dans la marine royale, comme le plus humble des sujets, vous remplissiez fidèlement votre devoir de soldat envers votre pays, et dans cette même salle qui nous réunit encore nous sommes heureux de saluer en vous l'héritier présomptif de ce sceptre puissant qui nous couvre de son égide et pour la défense duquel nous donnerions volontiers jusqu'à notre sang, comme l'ont fait nos pères en 1775 et en 1812, et comme l'ont fait de nos jours nos glorieux soldats dans les régions les plus lointaines de l'Empire.

"Quelle transformation s'est opérée dans Québec depuis l'époque où sa Majesté le Roi, alors Prince de Galles, nous honorait de sa visite.

"Des circonstances adverses ont entravé notre développement et ont retardé notre croissance à l'égal des autres cités du Canada.

"Mais il nous semble que nous entrons dans une ère de renouveau, grâce au travail persévérant et à l'entente cordiale de tous les éléments de notre population, et que nous allons reprendre bien vite la place importante qui nous appartient dans le développement de la prospérité de notre cher pays.

"Il manquerait quelque chose à cet hommage respectueux de tout un peuple à votre Altesse Royale et à votre royale compagne si nous laissons passer cette occasion solennelle sans vous exprimer la profonde sympathie que nous éprouvons pour sa Majesté le Roi et pour la famille royale dans le deuil récent où les a plongés la mort de sa Majesté l'Impératrice douairière d'Allemagne, si chère à tous les cœurs comme Princesse Royale d'Angleterre, digne fille d'une illustre mère."

In English, the references would read :

"As in 1860, it is again reserved for the inhabitants of Quebec to be the first to greet on Canadian soil the Heir Presumptive of the Crown, to offer in his person, to Our Very Gracious and Well-beloved Sovereign the homage of our respect and the tribute of our loyalty to the Empire.

"You see assembled about Your Royal

• Highness a population in majority of French origin, and differing in language and religious faith from the inhabitants of the other Provinces. But we live in peace, bound together by the sacred pact of the Confederation, and we glory in offering to the world the spectacle of a people free, united, contented with its lot, faithful and loyal in its allegiance to the Empire, to the Sovereign, to the generous constitution which gives us a large measure of liberty and the most certain guarantee of our future greatness.

"Among the number of historic reminiscences which encircle the arms of old Quebec like a halo, we particularly cherish those connected with the visits to our city of the members of the Royal Family.

"We like to repeat that more than once Quebec has been the place of residence preferred by these illustrious visitors whom the closest bonds unite to the venerable Queen whose blessed memory is nowhere more alive than in this ancient city of Champlain, immortalised by the giant struggles beneath her walls of powerful rivals, and empurpled by the blood of such heroes as Wolfe and Montcalm.

"We seem to see you again as you appeared here to us, on your former visits, when, as a simple officer in the Royal Navy, like the humblest of the subjects, you faithfully discharged your duty to your country as a sailor; and in this same hall which unites us again, we are happy to greet in you the Heir Presumptive of this mighty sceptre which covers us under its ægis and for the defence of which we would willingly give our very blood, as our fathers did in 1775 and in 1812, and as in our day our glorious soldiers have done in the most distant regions of the Empire.

"What a transformation has taken place in Quebec since the time when His Majesty the King, then Prince of Wales, honoured us with his visit!

"Adverse circumstances have hindered our development and retarded our growth in comparison with the other cities of Canada. But it appears to us that we are entering an era of revival, thanks to the persistent work and cordial agreement of all the elements of our population, and that we are going to very quickly regain the important place that belongs to us in the development of the prosperity of our dear country.

"Something would be wanting in the respectful homage of a whole people to Your Royal Highness and Your Royal Consort if we let this solemn occasion pass without expressing to you the profound sympathy we feel for His Majesty the King and for the Royal Family in the



Photo: Topley, Ottawa.

SIR WILFRID LAURIER.



A HOMESTEAD IN THE CANADIAN NORTH WEST.

Photo: Mathers, Edmonton.

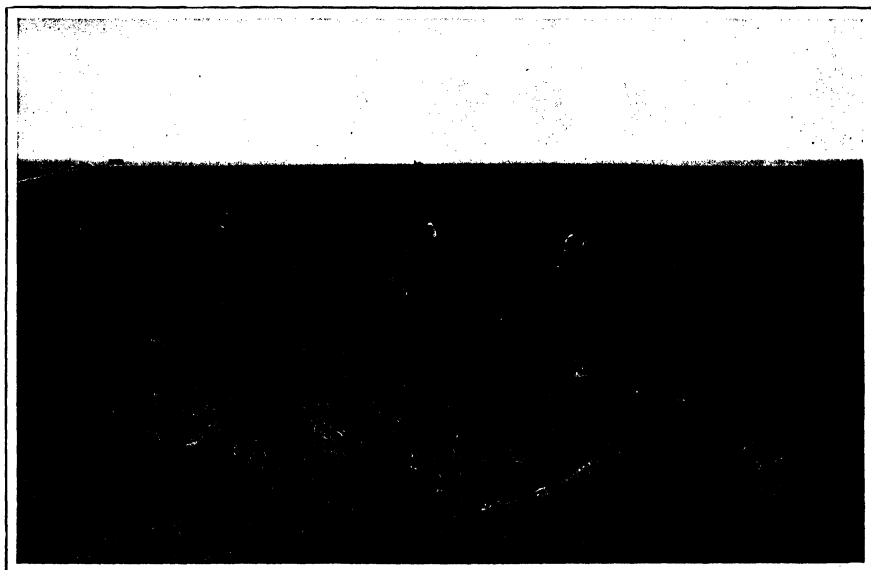
recent mourning in which they were plunged by the death of Her Majesty the Dowager Empress of Germany, so dear to all hearts as the Princess Royal of England, worthy daughter of an illustrious mother."

At Quebec Albert Edward was the guest of the Governor-General. There were visits to the battlefield, trips of various kinds, and a ball to which all Quebec society was invited. At this festivity the Prince had a mishap. Good dancer though he was, he suffered that to which every dancer is liable either from his own confidence or the fault of another—a false step and a fall. He must have been going with all the zest of youth, for down came his partner with him, not a little to the concern of onlookers at first, and then to their intense enjoyment, in which none shared more fully than the

victims of the mishap when they found themselves on their feet. *Honî soit qui mal y pense* was the heading which an American newspaper gave to an account of this incident. American newspaper correspondents, by the way, swarmed round the Prince. Day by day the United States were flooded with messages of many thousands of words describing everything he did, everything which the correspondents had reason to imagine that he must have done, from rising for the morning bath to saying his prayers at night, and many things which he never did at all, or thought, said, wore, or looked. It did no harm; on the contrary, it did much good, for it prepared sixty millions of people across the frontier for his arrival amongst them, exciting their interest in him, and putting them into the best possible humour about him.

Was there, we wonder, among the crowds in Quebec a young man of the Prince's own age whose destiny it was to be the first French-Canadian Prime Minister—not once only, but thrice successively—and to be an honoured guest of England at the two Jubilees and at the Imperial Conferences? Almost certainly there was; and we would have ascertained the fact from Sir Wilfrid Laurier himself had there been time to do so before going to press. He was born in a Quebec county, of farming stock, a few days after the Prince; and both at the elementary school of his native parish and at L'Assomption College afterwards impressed his associates as having extraordinary endowments. In boyhood, as in manhood, he had uncommon grace of presence and distinctive charm of bearing; a gentleness, a fineness of character, a nobility of dis-

position which marked him out among his contemporaries; a strength and acuteness and suppleness of intellect also which made his associates marvel and admire. "The very appearance of Wilfrid Laurier," wrote one of these, "indicated his future, and for all those who knew him his success has never been a surprise." Though a Roman Catholic at the most Catholic and Conservative college in the Province, he was a Liberal by instinct—one of those whose Liberalism is temperamental and irrepressible. "Wilfrid Laurier at sixteen," wrote a fellow student, "exercised a veritable domination within the walls of this institution, which, however, did not share his political ideas . . . the most popular pupil, the pupil with the greatest following and the most influence." Yet in athletics and sports he had no share, for his health was frail. "He was then,



A CANADIAN "WHEAT-STRETCH."

Photo: Steele & Co., Winnipeg.

as to-day, calm, dignified, reserved, almost timid. But happy were they who formed the circle around him to know the charm of his words, so musical, vibrant; his consideration always lofty, instructive and penetrating." When the Prince was at Quebec Laurier was finishing his course at L'Assomption College, wondering, no doubt, what his career would be

Province to have passed without seeing that Prince and gauging the enthusiasm the visit aroused. Who knows but that his lofty but ever-sane Imperialism is traceable to the days when he was an obscure youth in a crowd of sightseers who had come out to cheer a Prince? He was to know that Prince well in after life, for no statesman from over-sea was held



THE RIVER FRONT AT MONTREAL.

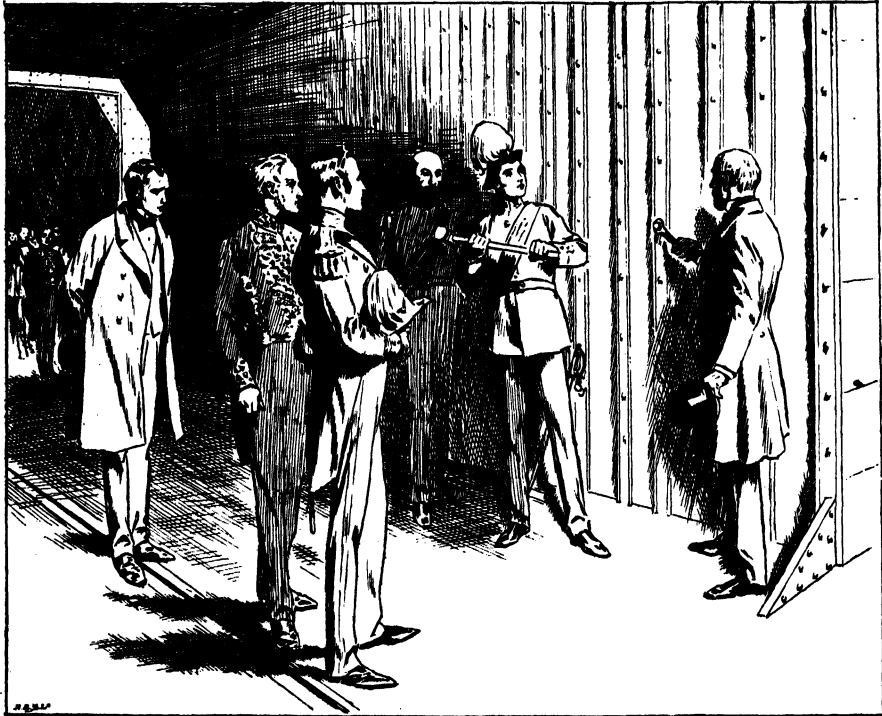
Photo: Notman, Montreal.

and having as yet no fixed plans. His means were scanty, and his father, who had taken to land surveying, could not furnish him with capital. Keen politician as he was even in youth—the story of his country known to him, the study of it his daily pursuit, and dreams of service for it probably filling his brain—it is scarcely likely that he would have allowed so remarkable a political event as the first visit of an English Prince to the conquered

in higher regard at the Court; and it is not invidious to say that no other Colonial statesman had a culture and distinction of mind, a grace of bearing, and a power to charm, which equalled Sir Wilfrid Laurier's. One of the objects of the Prince's tour, as we have seen, was the laying of the foundation stone of the Parliament Buildings in the new capital of Canada. In that House Wilfrid Laurier was to make his splendid reputation; from that House

•he was to be sent by a Federated Canada to represent the new nation at the homage paid to a great Queen ; within its walls he formulated the ideas which were to make all of us look to him as an intellectual force in Imperial problems ; to that

saw a stripling like himself in Quebec in 1860, ascended the Throne during the second Premiership of Sir Wilfrid Laurier ; at King Edward's death Sir Wilfrid Laurier was still Premier—an uncrowned King of the Dominion, if an expression



EDWARD VII., WHEN PRINCE OF WALES, DRIVING THE LAST RIVET OF THE VICTORIA BRIDGE, MONTREAL, 1860.

House he returned from his sojourns here, strengthened in his loyalty and confidence in the Crown ; and there he communicated to the Canadian people, French and English, the story of his own labours to give actuality to new ideals of Imperial development, the ideals themselves, and something of his own zeal for their accomplishment. The Prince, whom he

P

so audacious may be used in connection with one who has ever expressed his contentment with the existing regime, and used his gifts to induce men of his race to forget the past and yield to the unifying power of the English Monarchy. Once more let it be said we like to think of him as being among those who waited in the streets of Quebec to see the Prince pass,

and to imagine that the scenes during those August days may have fired the ambition of the young student to serve the Crown.

To tell in detail the incidents of the tour would be to multiply accounts of exhibition openings, reviews of Canadian Militia, dinners, balls, public receptions, shooting parties, and the like. At Montreal, where the Prince arrived on the 25th of August, he was accorded a reception which outvied that of Quebec; for the English-Canadian population was determined that it should be not less cordial than that of the French city, and the very considerable French element in Montreal was equally determined to give as vociferous a welcome as their English fellows. The memory of the visit still survives. In language whose spirit and grace can only be adequately conveyed in the original language in which it was uttered, the City Fathers thus recalled that visit to the Duke of York—His Majesty George V.—on his arrival with the Duchess of York at Montreal in 1901:—

"Nous sommes spécialement fiers et heureux d'avoir l'occasion de saluer en vous le représentant direct de notre bien-aimé Souverain, votre auguste père, et d'offrir à son fils aimé et son héritier l'expression de nos sentiments les plus sincères de loyauté pour le trône qui n'est pas seulement à nos yeux le symbole de la vie nationale d'un grand peuple et de la forme de gouvernement la plus juste et la plus libre, mais qui est honoré par la sagesse, la bienveillance et le patriotisme de celui qui l'occupe. Montréal a grandi depuis le jour où sa Majesté, alors le Prince de Galles, inaugurait, en 1860, le pont Victoria, mais le temps n'a pas moins développé et raffermi le sentiment de loyauté dont les manifestations, à cette époque, furent si éclatantes.

Ici, dans cette métropole commerciale du Canada, deux grandes races, fières de l'héritage glorieux que deux nations illustres leur ont légué, travaillent dans la paix et l'harmonie

à la grandeur de l'Empire, et, acceptant les obligations que leur impose leur association à la fortune de cet empire, versent leur sang pour sa gloire, soit comme autrefois sur les champs de bataille canadiens, ou dernièrement dans les steppes arides de l'Afrique-australe."

Translated, the portion of the address here quoted reads:

"We are especially proud and happy to have the opportunity of greeting in you the direct representative of our well-beloved Sovereign, your august father, and to offer to his beloved son and his heir an expression of our most sincere feelings of loyalty to the Throne, which is not only in our eyes the symbol of the national life of a great people and of the most just and free form of government, but which is honoured by the wisdom, benevolence, and the patriotism of him who occupies it. Montreal has grown since the day when His Majesty, then the Prince of Wales, opened, in 1860, the Victoria Bridge, but time has in no less measure developed and strengthened the feeling of loyalty, the manifestations of which at that time were so striking.

"Here, in this commercial metropolis of Canada, two great races, proud of the glorious heritage which two illustrious nations have bequeathed to them, work in peace and harmony for the greatness of the Empire, and, in the acceptance of the obligations imposed on them by their association with the fortunes of this empire, shed their blood for its glory, either as aforetime on the Canadian battlefields, or lately on the arid steppes of South Africa."

The Prince drove in the last rivet of the railway bridge and declared it open, amid the wild rejoicings of the assembly. Great was the pride of the Canadian in the completion of this their one railway line,

• after nine years' anxious toil; and one needs to have lived in a colony with only one railway, and that a new one, to appreciate the admiration which a colonist can feel for "the railway." The words represent so immense a stride in the conquest of the wilds. The one line—the Grand Trunk—sufficed then for the

did not go; that would have meant long and exhausting travel, and his duties lay in the centres of population. At the new capital, which then had a population of some ten thousand, chiefly engaged in the timber industry, which had grown up during the preceding fifty years at the confluence of the Ottawa and the



NEAR VIEW OF THE DOMINION PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, OTTAWA.

region it served. There were scarcely more than three millions of people in all Canada when the Prince was there. But not for long did it meet the need. It was the forerunner of a system from coast to coast, though a quarter of a century was to pass before the Prince was to learn that the first train to cross the Continent had set down its passengers on the shore of the Pacific Ocean. Into the prairie region known as the North-West Territories, and not then acquired by Canada, the Prince

Rideau, the Prince laid the foundation stone of the new Parliament Buildings

Above her river, above her hill,
Above her streets of brief renown,
In majesty austere and still,
Ottawa's gloried towers look down.
Dim in the sunset's misty fires,
Set on the landscape like a crown,
Loom tower and bastion, as the spires
Of some old-world cathedral town.

Thus says a poet of one of the finest group of legislative and administrative buildings in the world—buildings in a

setting of extensive and beautiful gardens overlooking scenery which is of a grandeur indescribable, whether the valley is draped with snow glistening in the continuous sunlight of a winter day under skies of northern blue and translucency, and the the river is solid ice, or whether the valley



LOADING TIMBER.

By permission of the Colonial and Continental Church Society.

is clothed with the rich foliage of the Canadian summer, the cultivated patches, yellow with the ripening grain, framing a noble river moving with a majestic flow along its serpentine course until it comes thundering down the falls and tears through the gorge at the base of the bluff.

In no part of Canada touched by the Prince would he have seen the majesty and glory of the earth revealed more magnificently than from the bluff where

he laid the foundation-stone of the Parliament House. Niagara itself is a mighty fall, but only a fall. The view from the Canadian side ends with the wall of waters, best seen when the colossal blocks of ice are poised on the edge, and sway and tremble there for a moment ere they are swept into the foaming abyss. But from the heights at Ottawa there lies beyond the fall—which is not by itself comparable with that of Niagara—a panorama of open and wooded valley with expanses of uncleared forest extending away to the Laurentian Hills. The Prince had known some of the boldest and loveliest scenery of our own islands. Windsor, Balmoral, the walking tour in Devonshire, the fortnight's tour in the south-west of Ireland, would have given him impressions of the scenic splendour of the world where the Creator had modelled on a small scale; here, in Canada, he was to see aspects of beauty where the modelling is on so grand a scale that the impression is one of unending continuity of distance.

In these islands one cannot look over the country without an idea that just beyond the horizon lies the sea; from the bluffs of Ottawa one cannot shake off the idea that the immediate view to the west is but a narrow pathway to an almost illimitable plain—beyond the prairie the towering barrier of the broad belt of mountains, and only *then* the waters; while to the north, beyond the habitable region with its untrodden forests, are the wastes of eternal ice. There one gets a sense of being on a Continent—a quite different

feeling from that of standing on an island and knowing that to go a little farther would be to fall over the cliffs; and there one begins to realise something of the magnitude of Canada, something of the possibilities of this single possession of the Crown as a home for the British race.

Nor is the scene now different from that which unfolded itself before the astonished gaze of the Prince. The stately and beautiful Parliament Buildings are there; Ottawa has spread itself out a little; there are more saw-mills than then, and a few factories; railway lines thread the countryside where then there were none; there is more cultivated land within view, with more dwellings and outbuildings; but all these things are dwarfed in the spaciousness of the scene. The land is still unconquered. It is a new world. The city is set in a primeval wild; and one wonders, Parliament Buildings notwithstanding, how it managed to get itself established there, and why it is there, and what evidences of human occupation lie concealed in the valley to account for its presence. Ottawa would not be Ottawa—would still be Bytown, a cluster of lumber piles, sawmills, and logmen's shanties—but for Queen Victoria. The choice of the site was hers. Quebec quarrelled with Toronto, Montreal with both; the dispute was referred to the Queen, and she determined it by selecting Bytown instead of any one claimant. Whoever advised her had a fine eye for the site of a capital and sound political instinct. The only disadvantage

was and is that the city lies off the main track of the commercial life of the nation; it is still untouched by the ever broadening stream of emigration. That flows from Montreal westward, not through the capital. But that disadvantage will not continue. In the country commanded by the towers and turrets, whose modern Gothic tells that they were reared by men of Anglo-Norman breed, there is room for millions of our race. It is still as it was



A LUMBER DRIVE.

when the Prince saw it, a reserve homeland calling aloud for occupation.

When the Prince thought of the teeming population of England, the towns seething with poverty and discontent as they were in his youth, and thought also of this expanse of the primeval world, he could hardly have failed to appreciate what opportunities its possession gave to English statesmen for remedying the evils of congestion at home. That problem has not yet been touched by statesmanship. King Edward came to the Throne too late in life. It is one of which we are likely to hear much in the reign of his present

Majesty. Of the Empire he has seen much ; of Canada in particular, for he has been thrice in the country, and traversed it from ocean to ocean. If report speaks truly, there is no keener Imperialist, in the

brains of the English diplomatist for the use of posterity ; and kept as the domain of the Crown against the world by the might of England and the self-sacrifices of the English taxpayer. Though the



LUMBERMEN AT WORK.

Photo: Notman, Montreal.

sense of desiring a utilisation of the unoccupied regions of Empire ; and his reign may not improbably see the origination of great schemes for peopling these vast territories of the Crown. For territories of the Crown they are, won by the sword of the English soldiers and the

legislative control of them has been delegated to the Colonial communities, they are not the exclusive possession of those communities, to dispose of as they think fit solely for their own local advantage, but are subject to the larger moral right of access to them by the British people

as a whole on such conditions as Imperial statesmen deem it wise to make in the interests of the whole Empire. But here we have touched upon a difficult theme, which could be handled effectively only in an Imperial Parliament in which the daughter States had adequate representation, and in which they were as desirous as ourselves for such a redistribution of population and use of the excess of population as would relieve congestion here, and yet fill vacant Colonial lands with people fit to turn them to account. That would imply a reorganisation of our institutions, here and overseas, or the supplementing of them by the creation for Imperial purposes of a new legislative and administrative authority, which should be comprehensively and exclusively Imperial in purpose and in action. This is not the place to develop these ideas. They do, however, arise naturally out of the circumstance that it was a Sovereign of England, when Prince of Wales, who laid the foundation stone of the Parliament Buildings at Ottawa, and that the present Sovereign, who knows Canada and the Empire far better than any previous Ruler, cannot have lived his life without having formed ideas of constructive change.

Whether his ambition as an Imperial Sovereign will impel him to lead the way in putting new ideas to the test of examination will be seen as the years pass. Meanwhile, let it be noted that the starting point in English history of an English Sovereign's personal knowledge of the overseas dominions was in this early visit of Edward VII. to Canada, and that almost the first symbolical act by an English Sovereign on Colonial soil—for the Prince acted for the Queen, whose representative he was—was the laying of the foundation

stone of a Federal Parliament—a Parliament, too, from which there has since come no small share of the common impulse for a less loosely federated Empire. In the handsome Library of the Ottawa Parliament, where, we doubt not, these lines will be read in a severely critical spirit, there stands a fine bust of King Edward VII. in early middle life, with a contemporaneous bust of the Queen Mother and a statue of Queen Victoria. If memory serves, the room was thus adorned with statuary in commemoration of the Royal choice of the site of the capital, and of the Royal act in laying the "first stone of its central and noblest edifice." In the developing organisation of our Imperial life other Sovereigns may do greater acts than these, calling for commemoration which sculpture alone will be unable to give.

Forty-one years after, Ottawa was visited by Prince George—his present Majesty. The address of the citizens—as of those at Quebec and Montreal—contained felicitous allusions to his father's presence in the city in youth, and well and wisely contrasted the conditions of the past and the present:—

"It is but natural that the presence of your Royal Highness should recall the ever memorable occasion when your august father visited the then infant capital, and laid the cornerstone of those legislative halls which, in their massive and enduring character, afford to-day a fitting symbol of our inalienable attachment to those great principles of constitutional government to which are due in no small measure the glory and the greatness of the British Empire.

"Four decades have since passed away, and the little town which in the wisdom

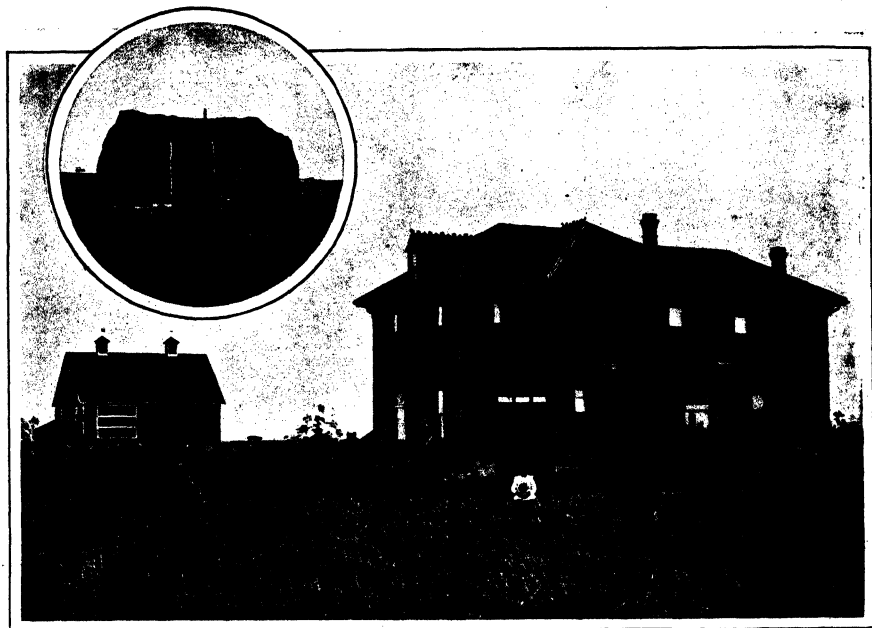
of the great and good Queen Victoria was chosen for such high honour has become a flourishing and progressive city of sixty thousand inhabitants, the home of many and varied industries, and the centre of a great railway system, thus, we are proud to think, meriting the confidence which the prince, now our Gracious King, was pleased to express in replying to the address from the corporation of that day, that 'with increase of population and influence, Ottawa would prove itself worthy of the country of which it is the capital and justify its selection by the Sovereign.'

"It is in the name of this greater Ottawa that we extend loyal and cordial greetings both to your Royal Highness and to your Royal consort the Duchess of Cornwall and York, whose presence amongst us adds so greatly to the pleasure of this occasion, and we fervently hope that your Royal Highnesses may carry back with you to the Motherland only the most pleasant memories of your visit to the capital of His Majesty's great Dominion beyond the seas."

But from Ottawa we have branched into a region of Imperial thought, whereas our pen should have been tracing the footsteps of the young Prince on Canadian soil. In speculation about the personal influence of a Sovereign on the imminent problems of Empire, there is, however, at least as much fascination as in a recital of successive receptions and festivities; and if it has been indulged in to excess it is to be feared that the reader would not have been less wearied had the Prince's programme been recounted with painstaking care.

After a dash into and out of the prairie country, where the Prince had some sport

with the prairie chicken—a bird about the size of a partridge and the flavour of a ptarmigan—the Royal party went to Niagara to see the falls. It is not recorded that the Prince got a shot at a coyote or prairie wolf; that very astute animal had learned to keep out of range very soon after the first man with a rifle had appeared on the plains; but one of the chroniclers of his prairie excursions tells with gusto how on one occasion the Prince and his friends found themselves wishful to smoke, and with only one box of matches. The wind was blowing with that even and unbroken force with which it incessantly sweeps the plains; and none of the party having learned the very difficult art of lighting a pipe on a prairie where there are no "sloos" or bluffs to give shelter, they speedily found themselves reduced to the last match without any one of them having drawn a whiff of smoke. For this they drew lots with spikes of prairie grass, whoever pulled the shortest to have the responsibility of striking the match, and thus—they hoped—providing all of them with a light. The Prince drew the shortest, and the others with their coats made the best wind-screen they could. He struck the match and succeeded in lighting up; never, it is reported, had he felt so nervous in his life. With such like stories the public on both sides of the Atlantic were regaled. Another story of the open country—though the scene was actually in United States territory—has a robust flavour, and was eagerly disseminated by people who delighted to tell anything disagreeable about the Duke of Newcastle; and they were many, for the Duke was not popular. The Prince and the Duke and the suite were out for a day's shooting, and they



THEN AND NOW: A SETTLER'S ORIGINAL SOD SHANTY, AND HIS HOME WHEN PROSPEROUS.

came upon a farmhouse where they sought a little rest. At the door was the lord of the homestead—a figure not nearly lean enough to be a Yankee, and eyeing the advancing group with a stolidity that was unmistakably British. He invited everyone to enter except the Duke. “Not you, Newcastle!” he cried out with angry emphasis as he spread himself out to fill up the doorway. “Everyone but you will be welcome. But I’ve been a tenant on your land in the Old Country. And when I heard that you were in these parts I swore that if you put foot on my land off you should go! So go!” And he stood aside and motioned to the Prince to enter. Of course, the Prince did not enter, but turned away, the Duke making no retort:

the party “got off” the man’s land with all due haste. It was a churlish act; but if any of the stories told of the tour are true, this is surely one of them. It is true to life. It is life itself; not invention. It is a word photograph of a social type across the Atlantic. Who that has been up and down these farming lands of North America has not met many a settler who is where he is—to his infinite advantage, no doubt—because of some quarrel over real or fancied harsh treatment by landlord or landlord’s agent in rural England? Many an emigrant—intractable and turbulent spirits, perhaps—will tell you that he emigrated in order to be able to live, in a new clime, the life of a free man.

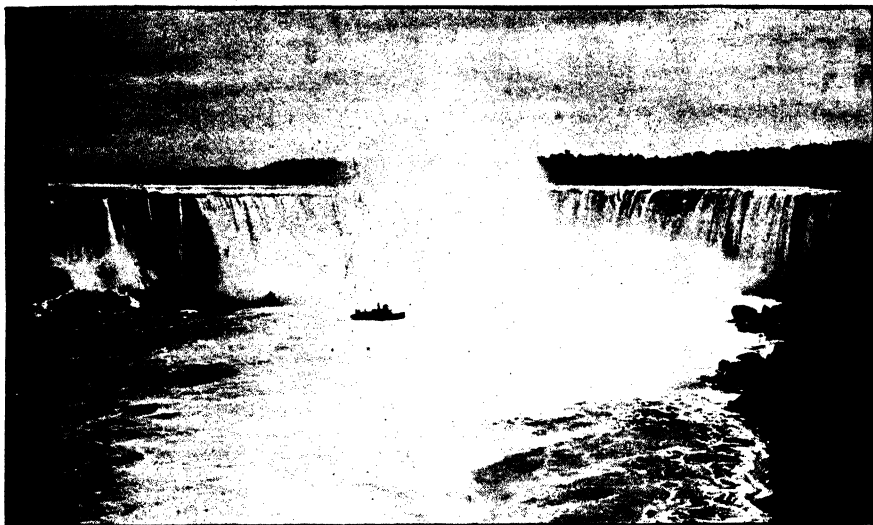


PHOTO : T. TUGBY, NIAGARA FALLS.
NIAGARA : THE CANADIAN FALLS.

No doubt, in their native land, they were difficult to get on with, uncompliant, disrespectful, disturbers of Arcadian peace, stirrers up of discontent in the taprooms of village inns, the new wine of Victorian Radicalism heating their brains and giving them a false view of the attitude of their pastors and masters towards them ; but men of sterling English character for all that, with the spirit of adventure in them and pluck and independence enough to cut themselves adrift from their semi-servile environment and cross the seas, and in a new land change a patch of primeval earth into a smiling homestead—a homestead of their own, which they could never have acquired in their native country in the days before the Small Holdings Act, be their virtues and their industry what they might.

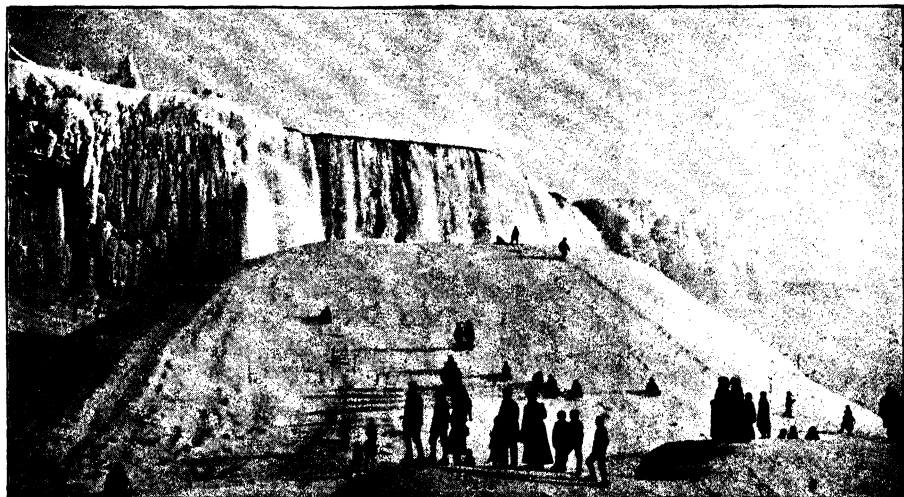
This type of man in the American continent must have been plentiful in the 'sixties, for it is prevalent even now ;

indeed, this present writer has often been impressed with the way in which a farming family in Canada will date its social history, so to speak, from some long-distant quarrel with an English squire or a Scotch laird which led or compelled a grandfather or great-grandfather to emigrate—in Scotsmen, too, from some conversion into deer forest or other sporting lands of soil on which their forefathers had lived for generations. Often, too, has he felt that these settler families with real or fancied, actual or inherited, grievances against what the politicians call landlordism and the survival of feudalism have had much influence in biasing the mind of the people of North America against the social system in this country ; for it is very remarkable how sincerely the Canadian or American farmer believes that the Englishman, especially the Englishman on the soil, lives in misery and subjection and dare not call his soul his

own. At any rate, anyone who has searched the mind of this class will be quite convinced that the story of the churlish farmer is true, and will understand with what revengeful eagerness the man would order his former ducal landlord off his land.

At Niagara the falls were viewed from every practicable point of view—from the river below, from horseback on the ascents to the plateaux; and the reporters did not need to exercise an inventive faculty when they recounted that the Prince was lost in admiration and declared that the sight of the stupendous flow was the most wonderful he had ever experienced. In those days it was something of an achievement in travel to have crossed the Atlantic and returned. Great fortunes were made in American commerce by Victorian business men who would no more have thought of going to New York, except under the direst necessity, than they would of opening their counting

houses on a Sunday. Only emigrants went west; and emigrants did not come back. Niagara was very much more worth seeing then than now, for there were no great chimneys disfiguring the scene, the waters had not been "harnessed" for the transmission of electric power to the manufacturing town of Ontario and elsewhere. The Prince stayed several days on the Canadian side, and while he was there Blondin, the tight-rope walker, crossed the Falls on a rope, in the presence of enormous crowds on both banks. Blondin had made the passage across with a balancing pole before the Prince's arrival, and he repeated the performance for the Prince's benefit, this time with a wheelbarrow. He was presented to the Prince afterwards, and it is reported that the Prince begged him not to do so foolhardy a thing again. Blondin replied with an offer to carry the Prince himself across on his back. But the Prince had no desire to enter American



NIAGARA IN WINTER.

territory in that hazardous fashion. Blondin had on his first day's performance actually carried a man over; but when Blondin was half-way across on the rope the fellow lost his nerve, and Blondin had to stop. It was said that he threatened to put the man down and let him shift for himself—a threat that effectually steadied his failing courage. The stay at Niagara was clouded by news of a terrible disaster on Lake Michigan, a steamer, the *Lady Elgin*, colliding with a schooner and going down, with nearly all on board.

Before leaving Canadian soil a Toronto incident of the tour calls for mention. There was then a stronger Orange Party in the City than there now is; and Orangeism in Canada is of almost as aggressive a quality as in the North of Ireland. More than one version of the incident obtained currency, but the following may be taken as accurate. A very imposing and artistic arch had been built by the Orangemen. It was draped with orange and blue bunting, and had a delineation of William III. crossing the Boyne on horseback. Owing to the strong Roman Catholic feeling also existing, it was considered that such an erection would disturb many minds, and the Prince's advisers refused to allow him to take that route. As it was through a main thoroughfare, there seemed every possibility of a deadlock. But the Orangemen gave way, to all intents and purposes, by putting some other decorative effects on to their arch. After the Prince had passed through the second time, however, it was found that the original decorations had only been covered up, and so the Orangemen scored after all. Their conduct received much adverse comment.

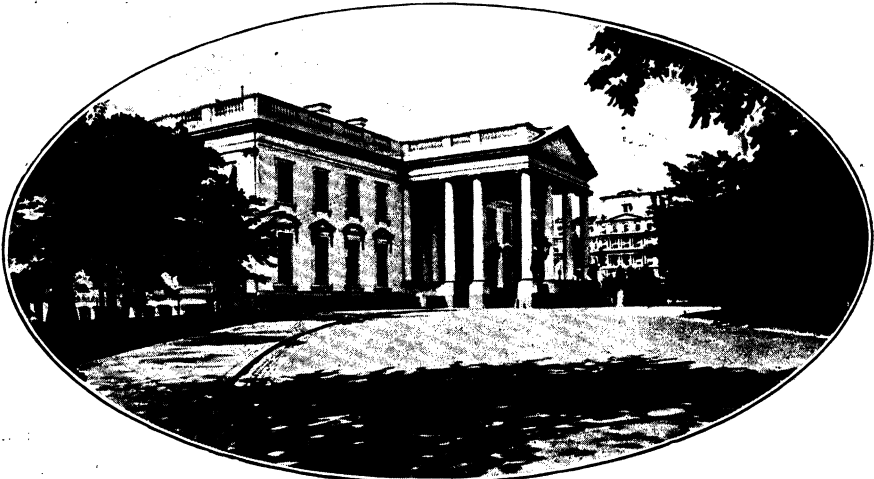
Before leaving Canadian soil the Prince

of Wales made a speech in which there was a sentence almost certainly elaborated by the Prince Consort, and in which the Prince was no doubt required to make himself word perfect before he left the paternal roof. "My duties as representative of the Queen," it ran, "cease this day, but in a private capacity I am about to visit before I return home that remarkable land which claims with us a common ancestry."

On the 20th of September, the Prince, as Baron Renfrew, an English nobleman, in no official capacity, entered the United States, travelling from Hamilton, Ontario (now a handsome little city, and the seat of thriving industries), to Detroit. There he met with so tumultuous a welcome that he was almost mobbed, and he and the Duke of Newcastle and other members of the party could get into the hotel only by a side entrance. "If George Washington had come to life again, there would not have been a greater curiosity to see him," observed one commentator. From Detroit the party went to Chicago, then a little town in the making; and here the attentions of the Americans were so obtrusive and hearty that under the plea of fatigue Baron Renfrew and his friends escaped into the country. It was not until October that Washington was reached, and the British Minister, Lord Lyons, conducted the Baron to President Buchanan, who entertained him for five days at the White House. Feeling on the Slavery question was then volcanic; civil war, which no one then expected, was to break out in the following year; but the tension in political circles was forgotten for the moment in the interest caused by the presence of the Heir

Apparent of the British Crown. This was the first time a Royal personage and future wearer of a crown—the exile and fugitive, Louis Napoleon, was scarcely royal, though he was to filch a crown—had been seen in the White House, and the aristocratic and democratic coteries of the capital of the Republic were deeply stirred by the fact. During his stay the Prince went to Mount Vernon, where Washington

Wales, the great-grandson of George III., standing bareheaded at the foot of the coffin of Washington. For a few moments the party stood mute and motionless, and the Prince then proceeded to plant a chestnut by the side of the tomb. It seemed, when the Royal youth closed in the earth around the little germ, that he was burying the last faint trace of discord between us and our great brethren in the West."



THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON.

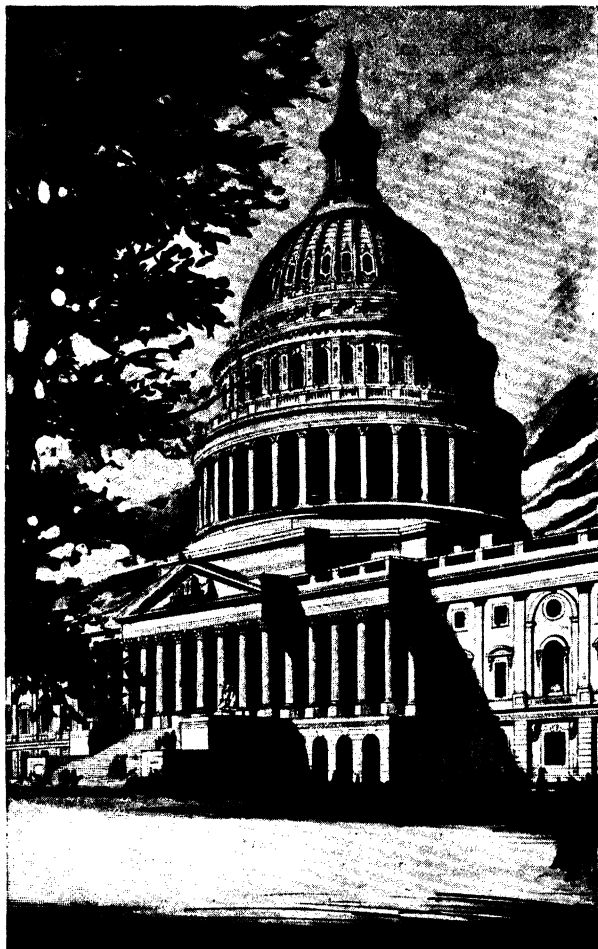
lies beneath a modest tomb. Imagine a descendant of George III. in an attitude of reverential sorrow at the burial place of Washington! The spectacle excited the special correspondent of *The Times* to write a passage of genuine journalese, which we venture to quote:—

"Before this humble tomb the Prince, the President, and all the party stood uncovered. It is easy moralising on this visit, for there is something grandly suggestive of historical retribution in the reverential awe of the Prince of

Wales. That the "Royal youth" should have "proceeded to plant a chestnut" will surely draw tears from the eyes of every student of the classic age of English journalism. Happily, the dignity and grace of the literary style of *The Times* of 1860 still survives among the police court reporters of our own degenerate day. In the Courts of Summary Jurisdiction, solicitors and prisoners still "proceed" to do this, that, or the other. But that is neither here nor there. Having shed tears on the dust of Washington, and

planted there a chestnut tree, which must by now have reached maturity, Baron Renfrew was persuaded to make a flying

this trip, with that charming simplicity of character which the astute American politician, with an axe of his own to



THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON.

visit to the South to see how pleasant and good a thing it is for the negro to be the personal property of the freeborn white. The Duke of Newcastle would appear to have behaved, in the matter of

grind, finds so delightful in English visitors to the mighty Republic. But English feeling was biased towards the South, and the Duke saw no harm in the trip. The way his apologists put it was that less offence would be caused by acceptance of the invitation to run into the South than by refusal. Hence Baron Renfrew made a flying visit to Richmond, Virginia, and was treated with much friendliness and consideration by a group of influential Southerners with large holdings in negro stock. These gentlemen took pains to impress the future Sovereign of England with the happy state of the negroes they and their friends owned, and a sale of negroes by auction in the market-place was very kindly postponed, lest uneasy doubts should cross the mind of the Baron. The trip did the Prince no harm. He was young and impressionable, but he was not silly, and he

returned unconvinced that slavery was an institution worthy of an Englishman's admiration. Indeed, the sordid squalor of the negro down South, and the superficiality of Southern civilisa-

tion seem to have excited some distaste for closer investigation. Returning to Washington, he "proceeded" as *The Times* would say, to Philadelphia, and there heard Adelina Patti, who was presented to him, to the furtherance of the fortunes of that charming songstress. From that city he went to New York, and was there welcomed with a fervour New York alone can feel when New York is determined to provide itself with a sensation.

bars of the waltz. Five days were spent in New York, and the eyes of the Baron Renfrew were surfeited with such spectacular glories as the Fire Brigade and the Mayor and Corporation could provide. "Proceeding" to Albany and to Boston, he made acquaintance with the intellect and culture of America. Longfellow, Emerson, Wendell Holmes, and other literary notabilities were presented to him; he went to Harvard; he visited



THE BRITISH EMBASSY, WASHINGTON.

Half a million people were computed to have awaited his arrival, and lined the route to his hotel. There was a gigantic social gathering—a ball and a supper—at the Academy of Music, and the very floor gave way with the weight of New York society, though, happily, without serious consequences to anyone. The Prince danced with as many belles as an incessant dancer could engage from night till dawn, and scores of beauties thereafter retired to rest with the blissful consciousness that they had had an illustrious partner if only for a few

Bunker's Hill; he planted trees on Mount Auburn; and at length, a little worn, perhaps, with all these excitements, he escaped on the 20th of October to Portland, Maine, where the *Hero* was riding at anchor.

Guns were saluting, people cheering, flags waving on ship and shore, as the Royal guest was bidden farewell. At 3 p.m. he was pulled off to the *Hero*, and, heading for home, the good ship bore its illustrious passenger from the gaze of the immense throng of American well-wishers.

"In our domestic circle," wrote President Buchanan to the Queen, "the Prince has won all hearts. His free and ingenuous intercourse with myself evinced both a kind heart and a good understanding." What, we wonder, were the impressions the President's "niece and housekeeper" (as one gossip describes Miss Harriet Lane) formed of him? They would be worth reproduction, if any were written. There was a wild passage home, and the good ship rolled along—at ten knots. Ten knots! They thought that wonderful in 1860. Be it remembered, too, that in choppy weather, the *Hero* rolled to forty degrees. The Prince must have had a horribly uncomfortable journey in consequence; but he was a good sailor, and all had to make the best of working in an Atlantic gale, with a persistent easterly wind, dead against the ship. It is recorded that considerable anxiety was

felt by Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort at the delay which was thus occasioned.

The Prince's nineteenth birthday was celebrated on board, roll the *Hero* never so dangerously. The middies had a high old time. We cannot help thinking that the Prince enjoyed the society of these young gentlemen even more highly than that of the Duke of Newcastle. At length came fair winds, and on the 14th of November the watch made out the Lizard Lights. On the morning of the 15th, twenty-six days out from Portland, the Prince shook hands with all aboard and disembarked in Plymouth Sound.

Hearty was the rejoicing of the nation at his safe return; affectionate indeed the welcome of his parents and brothers and sisters. In the family circle we leave him before entering upon a new phase of his life.



WINDSOR FROM THE RIVER.

Photo: Chester Vaughan Acton.

